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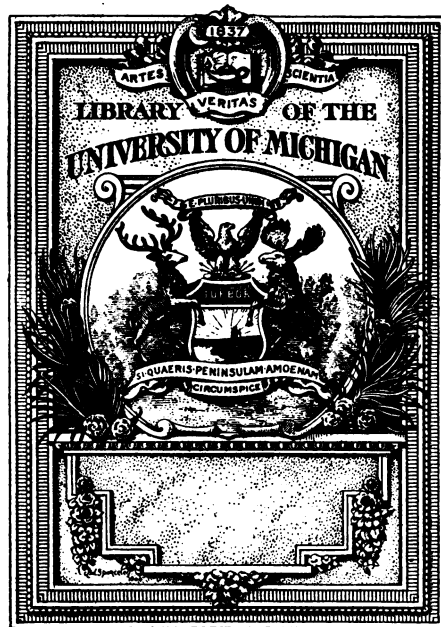
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TO THE MEMORY OF  
CAOUNOUNICUS AND MIANTUNNOMU,  
WHO GAVE  
THIS GREAT BOULDER TO  
ROGER WILLIAMS.

IN THE RHODE ISLAND

BEING A DOWN TO

THE HISTORY OF THE STATE

AND ITS PEOPLE

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF

PRINCIPAL PLACES

AND THE

NAVIGATION

AND

ELABORATE HISTORICAL

BY

SIDNEY S. RIDER.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

1904.



TO THE MEMORY OF  
CAUNOUNICUS AND MIAMI  
WHO GAVE  
THIS GREAT POWER  
ROGER THE FAME

THE  
LANDS OF RHODE ISLAND

AS THEY WERE KNOWN TO  
CAUNOUNICUS AND MIANTUNNOMU

WHEN ROGER WILLIAMS CAME IN 1636.

---

AN INDIAN MAP  
OF THE  
PRINCIPAL LOCATIONS  
KNOWN TO THE  
NAHIGANSETS  
AND  
ELABORATE HISTORICAL NOTES

BY  
SIDNEY S. RIDER.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.  
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

1904.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1903,  
BY SIDNEY S. RIDER,  
In the Office of the Library of Congress, at Washington.

PRESS OF THE  
CHRONICLE PRINTING CO.,  
PAWTUCKET, R. I.

TO THE  
PARTNER IN MY JOYS AND SORROWS  
THESE  
MANY YEARS  
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED  
BY THE AUTHOR HER HUSBAND.

133899

## PRELIMINARY NOTE.

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The purpose of the writer is first to set forth the characteristics of the Narragansetts; their Government, Laws, and customs; ties of consanguinity; marriage custom, social relations, domicils, furniture, and housekeeping arrangements; hunting and trapping methods; sports, games and gambling; occupations; the moving about of their domicils; their bath caverns; their medical system, wholly incantation; business arrangements; their numerical system, religion, ranks, dress, war methods, deaths, burial, and many other matters. In attempting to set forth these characteristics the writer has rested wholly upon Roger Williams, who knew these Indians more thoroughly than any other man; but the writer has taken occasional illustrations from other writers; not only has he used the works of other men, but he has attempted to apply the rules of reason to all researches. Further he has attempted to show the chronological acquisitions of these lands from the Indians, which placed the jurisdiction in the Colony, and ultimately in the State. This has been followed by setting forth the political results so far as towns are concerned, which followed.

The accompanying Indian Map shows the outlines of these towns, practically as now existing. The towns are identified by numbers; and an attempt has been made, with more or less success, to locate within these town lines, certain Indian localities which existed before the towns were created, or the lines established. In naming these localities practically there have been used those which were known in the time of Canonicus and Miantinomi, which means before 1650. The purpose being to escape that density of ignorance in writing both English and Indian, at the opening of the 17th century.

The scope of these Indian lands is entirely outside of modern knowledge; nevertheless an attempt is made to place the lands of the Nipmucs; and the lands of the Wampanoags, so far as they played a part in the formation of the State; and also the lands of the Narragansetts, separating the Shawomet lands; and the Niantic

lands are also indicated. The English tautologic corruptions of Indian names, which developed about the year 1700, are noted and condemned; and the folly of attempting definitions, under such conditions is set forth. Certain great events connected with Indian history are mentioned, and their locations attempted on the Indian Map. These are the Nine Men's Misery; Michael Pierce's Fight and Extermination; the Great Swamp Fight; the *Queen's Fort*; the Massacre of July, 1676, near Natick; the Murder of Miantinomi; the capture and murder of Anawon, and the shooting of Philip (Metacombet) near Montop. In addition to these interesting matters, upwards of a hundred and fifty historical sketches are given concerning these Indian localities which appear upon the Map. Among the most interesting of these sketches are "Hipses rock" and its classical derivation. "Goatom" and its close connection with the most ancient English dramatic literature. "Mount Hope", "*Hopum*", was the name which the Norse leader Karlsfinio gave to "an estuary leading into a Bay" (the East passage) in this region. The attempts of John Crown to get possession of these lands are set forth under this same head.

Under *Quetenis* is given the Dutch accounts of "Dutch" island, and the two Dutch trading forts in Charlestown, one of which was christened "Ninigret's Fort" in 1883.

Under the name *Aquidneck* is given the origin of the name Rhode Island. Roger Williams first suggested it in 1637.

Under *Chibachuesa* is given the story of John Paine, and the "Sophy Manor".

Under *Aspanansuck* is given a history of the Indian Queen, Wawaloam, whom Gov. Winthrop invited to visit and dine with him at Boston.

Under the "*Queen's Fort*" is given the History of the Fortification, and its supposed builder. It is the only structure built by the Narragansetts now in existence; it goes back to the time before the Charter of Charles the Second.

Under "*Chachapacassett*" is discussed the name Rumstick, and the singular geographical formation of the lands so suggestive of the Norse word "*Rymstock*".

Under *Setamachut* is given the history of Hackelton's, or Hackston's, Lime Kiln. It is the most ancient structure built by Englishmen now in existence in Rhode Island; it was built in 1662.

But the identification of the "Little Isle Nahiganset," from which came the name Narragansett, is one of the most interesting historical facts contained in the book.

The Forgeries connected with the original Deed are carefully reconsidered, and reaffirmed. The reasons for this were two: *First*, the publication of the 10th volume of the Collections of the R. I. Historical Society, the Harris Papers, in which exists documentary proofs of the Forgery. *Second*, this Forgery changes in a radical way the early history of Rhode Island as it has been continually written. It destroys instantly all that has been said against the first Rhode Islanders concerning their aversion to submit to any organized government; or how their aversions to a religious oligarchy, resulted in an individualism which destroyed civil government. These Forgeries explain all these pretended actions of the people.

Such in a general way is the outline of my work; in a work so original, it is not possible to escape error; point out fearlessly these errors and they shall be turned at once from fiction into history.

I am under obligations to certain friends. It is but fair that I thank them in close connection with the work which they helped me in the construction. To Mabel DeWitt Eldred, of Kingston College; to Maud Andrea Munster, a teacher in the schools; to J. Raleigh Eldred, for the photographs of Nahigonset from a tree top; to Clarence S. Brigham, of the Historical Society; to George Parker Winship, of the John Carter Brown Library; and to Edward Field, Commissioner of the Providence Early Records, all for access to early authorities, and to John S. Hana for a photograph. All these friends I thank; but I must not forget three others—Mabel Estelle Emerson, Eva Swift Gardner and Marguerite McLean Reid, of the Public Library corps, who have bent all their energies to help me.

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THE  
CHARACTER OF THE NARRAGANSETTS  
AS SET FORTH BY  
ROGER WILLIAMS  
IN HIS  
KEY TO THE LANGUAGE OF THE NATIVES

1643

SHOWING THEIR TIES OF CONSANGUINITY—THIER GOVERNMENT,  
LAWS, MARRIAGES, HOUSEKEEPING, HUNTING, TRAP-  
PING, OCCUPATIONS, GAMES, SPORTS, SOCIAL  
CUSTOMS, BUSINESS SYSTEMS, METHOD  
OF WAR, MEDICAL SERVICE,  
RANK, DRESS, DEATH  
AND BURIAL.



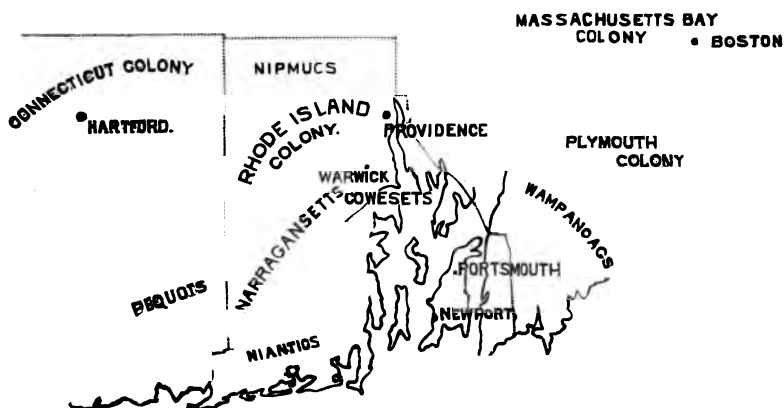
#### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NARRAGANSETTS

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Five tribes, or parts of Indian tribes, dwelt upon these Rhode Island lands when the English came. The Pequots claimed and dwelt in the extreme southwest corner, near what is now Westerly. This tribe was exterminated in 1637 by foes from Connecticut and the Massachusetts. It was Roger Williams who chiefly laid the plan of assault upon it. This matter has been carefully stated by the writer in another place. (Book Notes, v. 8, p. 129.) Here follows Mr. Williams's own account: "I had my service to the whole land in that Pequot business inferior to very few that acted. Upon letters received from the Governor and Council at Boston (by whom he had just been banished) requesting me to use my utmost and speediest endeavors to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequods against the Mohegans, and Pequods against the English, (excusing the not sending of company and supplies by the haste of the business,) the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and, scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself all alone in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the Sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms me-thought wreaked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on the Connecticut, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also. God wondrously preserved me and helped me to break to pieces the Pequods' negotiation and design, and to make, promote and finish the English league (alliance) with the Narragansetts and the Mohegans."—(Nar. Club, v. 6, p. 338.)

From this extermination Massachusetts founded her claim to Misquamicut, and established a town on the east of the Pawcatuck river, named it Smithtown, and added the country to Suffolk county;

just as that colony did, at a later date, with the town of Warwick. The Niantics dwelt along the southern border, on the seacoast, covering the present town of Charlestown, and the southern part of South Kingston, and in parts of Hopkinton and Richmond. The Nipmucs dwelt in the northeastern corner on the lands now forming Glocester and Burrillville, and a part of Smithfield. A fragment of the Wampanoags dwelt in Cumberland and extended to the



western side of the river which we now call the Blackstone. But the Narragansett tribe was dominant over all the lands now embraced in Rhode Island. It ruled all others. Its numbers were estimated to have been 30,000, with a fighting force of 5,000 men when in its greatest power. This was, however, their own estimate. There were some small groups of Indians to which were given specific tribe names, as, for instance, the Cowesets. These were the few Indians dwelling near and between the places which we now call East Greenwich and Apponaug—Cowweseuck—Williams called them, just as he gave the name Cawasumseuck, or found it applied to the people near what is now Wickford. These small groups were all Naragansetts. It may not be without interest to consider for a few moments the character, habits, mode of life, social condition, government, and laws of the great Indian tribe which dwelt upon these Rhode Island lands when the Englishmen came. For this

purpose I shall rely wholly upon Roger Williams, and, particularly as he represented them, in 1643, before they had become utterly corrupted by rum and the "civilization" of the English. Their government was monarchical, and, as seen by the English, hereditary. It became extinct by the slaughter of all the sachems, or descendants of sachems; the last slaughter being the massacre of 2nd July, 1676. I will illustrate this succession of government. Canonicus was the ruling sachem when the English came. As age benumbed his limbs, he needed an assistant, and he selected Miantinomi, who was his brother's son. These two chiefs worked well together. "The old sachem will not be offended at what the young sachem doth; and the young sachem will not do what he conceives will displease his uncle (Narr. Club, I, 163). Miantinomi, being murdered in 1643, never succeeded to the position of the ruling chief. In 1647, Canonicus died, and his son Meika, or Mexanno, succeeded him. Meika died in 1667, and Cachanoquand succeeded; the latter was a brother of Meika and a son of Canonicus. There were grandsons and other blood relatives of Canonicus then living: they were given sachemdoms—that of Bassokutoquage to Scuttape is an instance. Scuttape was a son of Meika and grandson of Canonicus. Among sachems, below in rank, the chief sachem, was Pessacus, a brother of Miantinomi. Pessacus was appointed or selected to succeed his brother Miantinomi in the councils of Canonicus. In that capacity Pessacus, with Canonicus and Mexanno, a son of the latter, signed the famous submission of their people and their lands to the King of England, Charles the Second, in April, 1644. It saved the destruction of Rhode Island. Others among these lower sachems were Quequaganet, a second son of Meika, and Quaiapen; Quanopen, a son of Cachanoquand; Cachanoquand himself was one of them until the death of his brother Meika, or Mexanno, in 1677. At that time Cachanoquand became chief sachem. At his death, Canonchet, who was a son of a collateral line, came to the chief position. He was soon killed, when Quaiapen, the last member of the line by either family, she being a sister of the Niantic, Ninigret, came to be chief sachem; but she was murdered on

the 2nd July, 1676. Thus ended the line of the sachems. These secondary sachems all seemed to preserve the right of disposing of their lands. Both Ninigret and Quaiapen were blood relatives of Conanicus.

In the female succession were these peculiar circumstances—Quaiapen succeeded to the position of ruling sachem, or queen, while Wawaloam, the wife of Miantinomi, did not succeed. Both were of equal rank so far as ancestry went. It was unwritten law with the great sachems to marry no one beneath them in descent. "A sachem will not take any to wife but such an one as is equal to himself in birth." (Winslow's *Good News from New England*, London, 1624; Young's *Chronicles*, 361.) Quaiapen was by blood within the ruling family, while Wawaloam came from some other tribe, possibly the Nipmucs, and was outside the line of succession. The quality of rank was clearly established, not only in government, but likewise in dwellings, a princes' house, which, according to their condition, is far different from the other houses, both in capacity or receipt." (Narr. Club, I, 163.) This word "receipt" was English Provincial, meaning "a place of refuge," or, possibly, of some defence. Not only was it different from the common houses of the Indians in these respects, but the mats with which it was covered were distinguished by their fineness and quality. Only Indians of quality, whether male or female, were dignified with names. These names were changed from time to time, for some cause now unknown to us; perhaps as the person rose to power, or perhaps for some brave or worthy act which demanded commemoration. Meika, Cachanaquand, Ninigret, Quaiapen had each four or five successive names. It was just the same with old Romans—Fabius, B. C. 250, was Fabius Rullus, then Verucosus, because of a wart on his nose, then Ovicula, because of his lamblike disposition, and at last Fabius Maximus, because of the greatness of his actions (Plutarch's *Lives*, 124).

Concerning their intellectual capacity, there was as much difference between individuals as there is among the English. Potack was described as being "a man considering his education of wonderful subtlety." Cachanaquand is described as a "poor

beast." He immediately became a common drunkard, which habit the English cultivated for the purpose of getting possession of his lands. Uncas is described as "a wicked, wilful man, a drunkard, and otherwise very vicious." He took the contract from the Massachusetts to murder Miantinomi while escorting him to his own home. Canonchet is described by Williams as "a very hopeful spark." The character of Canonchet as gathered from Hubbard, his bitterest enemy, is fine; he says "Canonchet had been driven out of his own country by the swords of the English . . . a very proper man, of goodly stature, and of great courage of mind" (Hubbard's Narrative, 1677, p. 141). Slipping upon a stone, in crossing the Blackstone, his powder was instantly destroyed; a young Englishman came up and asked him a question. This manly sachem replied: "You much child, no understand matters of war; let your brother or your chief come; him I will answer," acting herein as if by a pythagorean motempsychosis some old Roman ghost had possessed the body of this western pagan; and, like Attilus Regulus, he would not accept of his own life when it was offered to him," the condition being that he should betray his friends. His answer was that he would "not deliver up a Wampanoag nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail" (Hubbard's Narrative, 1677, 141). Such was the character of an Indian hero, the last of the great sachems of the Narragansetts. He was murdered by the Massachusetts government, just as his father had been murdered twenty-three years before. Canonchet is described by Williams as being "a wise and peaceful prince." He was characterized as being the "Father of his Country" by Roger Williams a century and a half before George Washington was so characterized. During the years of their nearness to the English, and despite their great preponderance of numbers, there was never a war against, nor a murder of one, of our people until the outside colonies had brought war upon their lands.

Mr. Williams, writing in 1674, says: "The Narragansetts stained not their hands with English blood (Narr. Club, 6, 274). Concerning the Pequots, as a tribe, Mr. Williams says "their treacheries exceed Machavelli's" (Narr. Club, 6, 39), and again



concerning Sassacus, "he is all for blood." The members of the tribe (Narragansetts) held themselves in subjection to the highest Sachems, but also to the under Sachem, or "Particular protector" as Williams called them (Key to Indian Language 164). To these Under Sachems the ordinary Indian, one of the "rank and file", if I may use such a common expression, was wont to go with his complaints for injuries; and by that Sachem justice was exacted, or punishment inflicted. Final operations, in great matters, wherein the whole tribe was concerned, whether in the matter of laws, or in subsidies; or in wars, was wholly in the control of the Chief Sachem; but those Sachems never entered upon such matters, in execution, when the leading members of the tribe were averse to them; and to which by "gentle pressure" they could not be brought to consent (Indian Key 164). The Indian had no written language, hence there was no written law; but there were Indian customs, and these in effect were the laws. They traded among themselves, and with the English, for corn, skins, or coats, and tools and such other things as they desired, paying therefor in wampum, or beaver skins, or other things. They had an excellent system of accounting. It forms the fourth chapter in Mr. Williams's Key. It shows a system of enumeration from 1 to 100,000. Concerning it Mr. Williams says: "Having no letters nor arts 'tis admirable how quick they are in casting up great numbers, with the help of grains of corn instead of Europe's pens or counters." The extraordinary nature of such a system aroused the curiosity of Mr. Williams, who said: "Let it be considered whether tradition of ancient Forefathers, or nature hath taught them Europe's arithmeticke." (Key to Indian Language 53. 54.)

They were scrupulously exact in maintaining their tenures of land among themselves. But the English "Christian" held that a Heathen could hold no title to land, which a Christian was bound to respect—and that all Indians were Heathen. (R. I. Hist. Tract, 14. "Christenings make not Christians.")

The execution of punishments when necessary was "for the Sachem either to beat, or whip, or put to death with his owne hand, to which the common sort most quietly submit; though

sometimes the Sachem sends a secret executioner, one of his chiefest warriors to fetch off a head by some sudden blow of a hatchet." (Williams's Key, p. 166.) In this way Miantinomi was murdered by order of Uncas, in obedience to the recommendations of Massachusetts clergymen. With these words Williams sums up the political and legal conditions of these Indians: "The wildest of the sonnes of men have ever found a necessity for preservation of themselves, their families, and properties, to cast themselves into some mould or forme of government." (Key, p. 167.)

"Adulteries, Murthers, Robberies, Thefts,  
Wild Indians punish these  
And hold the scale of justice so  
That no man farthing leese.  
We weare no cloathes, have many Gods,  
And yet our sinnes are lesse;  
You are Barbarians, Pagans wild,  
Your land's the wilderness."

Having set forth the system of government in use among these Indians, together with the rude and unwritten laws under which barbarism, order was maintained, and how these laws were executed, we will dwell a moment upon their social conditions. There seems to have been divisions of labor; some, pursuing one species of work, and some, other kinds. Some gave their time to the making of Bows; others to the making of Arrows; one, "Stone Wall John" was his soubriquet, became so skilful in the making of arrow-heads and in repairing the guns, that the fact appears in the English history. Some, made Earthen utensils; these were mostly women. Mr. Williams says, "An art with which some of the Indian women were acquainted." Baked earth, he calls such utensils. Possibly the "Trays" which the Indians called Wunnaug were thus made. Mr. Williams says: "Their women constantly beat all their corn with hand," in a stone utensil, or in a rounded hole in a rock, with a stone pestle; "they plant, dress, gather, burn, and beat it; and take as much

pains as any people in the world, which labour is questionless one cause of their extraordinary care in childbirth. \* \* It is almost incredible what burthens the poor women carry of corn, fish, beans, or mats, and a child besides." (Indian Key, Narr. Club, 1, 66, 67.) It must be noted that in connection with such labors Mr. Williams uses the word "poor". Among the higher class the women seem to be differently occupied. This will presently appear, in the occupation, herein narrated, of Weetamoe, the wife of Quanopen, a Narragansett Sachem.

Others were wholly engaged in making wampum; these latter lived by the sea shores, and were prudent men, gathering shells during the summer, out of which to make wampum during the winter (Key to Indian Language 179-180). They were acute traders, suspicious, and subtle, suspecting the integrity of everybody. They were penurious to the last degree, "beating all markets and trying all places to save six pence" (Indian Key 182). They quickly acquired an English willingness to contract debts, with a pronounced English characteristic of never, or hardly ever, paying them. They, in general, preferred to beg than to buy. Mr. Williams says: "I have often seen an Indian with great quantities of money (wampum) about him, beg a knife of an Englishman, who happily hath had never a penny of money." (Key 183.) An incident related by Mrs. Rowlandson, an Indian captive, in 1675, will explain the meaning of Mr. Williams's expression "great quantities of money about him." Mrs. Rowlandson was bought from the Indians who captured her, by Quanopen, whose wife, or one of them, was the famous Weetamoe; she spent her entire captivity with Weetamoe. One day one of Quanopen's wives annoyed him. "She ran out of the wigwam and he after her with his money jingling at his knees." (Mrs. Rowlandson's Narrative 47). This money was in the form of belts, and girdles, and so worn by the Sachems. When a trade was made, with his knife the Sachem cut off the necessary amount. Mrs. Rowlandson gives this interesting account of the occupation of this famous Indian woman, with whom she lived and served all this while. "A severe and proud dame she was; bestowing every day in dressing herself, near as much time as any of

the gentry of the land; powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself her work was to make *girdles of wampum*, and beads." Concerning these girdles, Mr. Williams says, "Which they make curiously of one, two, three, four and five inches thickness, and more of this money, which, sometimes to the value of ten pounds, and more, they wear about their middle and as a scarf about their shoulders and breast." \* \* \* "Yea, the Princes made rich caps and aprons, or "small breeches" of these beads, curiously strung into many forms, and figures; those black and white (money) finely mixt together." In this paragraph, Mr. Williams uses the word "thickness" in the sense which we use the word "width"; a word by the way which Samuel Johnson says "is a low one". There was at Plymouth, the girdle owned by King Philip, which Annawon surrendered to Capt. Church, who thus described it: "Opening his pack, he pulled out Philip's belt curiously wrought with wampum, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white wampum, in various figures, and flowers, and pictures of many birds, and beasts; this belt when hung upon Capt. Church's shoulders reached his ancles." (Church's Entertaining History, 1772, p. 84.) Let me return a moment, to Weetamoe, and describe her costume at a dance, which preceded a dinner given upon the occasion of the release of Mrs. Rowlandson. There were eight dancers, four men and four squaws; my master (Quanopen) and mistress (Weetamoe) being two. He was dressed in his Holland shirt, with great laces sewed at the tail of it; his silver buttons, his white stockings, his garters hung round with shillings; and girdles of wampum upon his head and shoulders. She had a Kersey coat covered with girdles of wampum from the loins upwards. Her arms from her elbows to her hands, were covered with bracelets; there were handfuls of necklaces about her neck; and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings, and white shoes, her hair powdered and her face painted red." She was always attended by maids. (Mrs. Rowlandson's Narrative, pp. 40-46.) Such characteristics are not wholly unknown even in these days of enlightenment, and prosperity. Let me relate the strange mutations which so quickly followed, in the lives of these people. Mary Rowlandson was captured at Lan-

caster, Mass., on the 10th February, 1676. She was held captive Eleven (11) weeks, and Five (5) days, and then released at Newport. The dinner was given at her release, which was on Wednesday, May 3rd, 1676. In July, King Philip, whose wife was Weetamoe's sister, was with Quanopen, and Weetamoe, near Taunton. They were attacked by Capt. Church, and all scattered. Philip's wife, and son, were captured, and both sold as slaves. Quanopen was captured, and taken to Newport, where he was tried, and shot, on the 26th August. Philip fled to Mount Hope, where he was shot, August 12th, and Weetamoe while crossing the Taunton river, on a raft, alone, was drowned, thus came to an end all these people, practically within about three months after Mary Rowlandson was set free.

It must not be overlooked, that these affairs of Quanopen and Weetamoe took place nearly forty years after the time when Roger Williams described the Indians in the manner which I am setting forth. While having no written laws the Narragansetts were scrupulous in the observance of what we would call their lawful duties to each other. They very strictly observed the land boundary lines, even in their hunting of animals. This strict rule of not encroaching upon an adjoining tribe's lands, is a terrible commentary on the action of the English, in stretching the occupation of lands covered in their Deeds, until all the lands in Rhode Island were covered, and after every Great Sachem had been slaughtered. In their hunting, when a deer was followed beyond the borders of the lands of the hunter's own tribe, and upon the lands of another tribe, for those limits and bounds were well known to every Indian, and there killed, if killed in the water the skin was given as a tribute to the Sachem of that tribe upon whose lands the deer was killed; but if the animal was slain upon the land, the forequarters were taken to the ruling Sachem (*Key to Indian Language*, p. 193). There is an English law covering very much the same ground, concerning wild animals; in it the latin term "*ferae naturae*" is used to designate animals of a wild nature which belong to any particular individual, only while they are in the power of that individual, or upon his lands. The moment the animal passes from the first individual's lands, that individual's ownership ceases. Concerning other matters

touching their laws and the observance of the same, and their breaches of what we English call morals, Mr. Williams says: "I could never discern that excess of scandalous sins amongst them which Europe aboundeth with. Drunkenness, and gluttony generally they knew not what sinnes they be; and although they have not so much to restrain them both in respect of a knowledge of God, and the laws of men, as the English have, yet a man shall never hear of such amongst them as robberies, murthers, adulteries, etc., as amongst the English." (Key to the Indian Language 165.) Mrs. Rowlandson relates that she never saw but one drunk, and that was Quanopen, her master. She confirms Mr. Williams, in another respect, notwithstanding that she was a writer of a much later date. She relates, "I have been in the midst of those roaring lions, and savage bears, that feared neither God, nor man, nor the devil, by day and by night, alone, and in company; sleeping, all sorts together, and not one of them ever offered the least abuse of unchastity to me in word or in action." (Mrs. Rowlandson's Captivity 51.) Their treatment of their women is finely touched in another place. It was in connection with the idea of forcing a religion upon them, in accordance with English notions. Roger Williams wrote it. "So did never the Lord Jesus bring any unto his most pure worship, for he abhors, as all men, yea, the very Indians, an unwilling spouse to enter into forced relations." (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st ser. 14, p. 15.) When an Indian sought a young woman in marriage it was customary for him to give a dowry to her parents. This sum was more, or less, as the wealth of the proposed husband was great, or little. Five or six fathoms of wampum was a not uncommon dowry; but in the case the woman sought, was the daughter of a Great Sachem, ten fathoms were sometimes given. If the proposed husband was poor, his friends and neighbors made up the necessary amount by contributions of wampum specifically as a dowry. Mr. Williams gives no form of service. The wife being obtained, a habitation was necessary. The name of this habitation the English have written Wigwam, but the Indian had no such word. It is a corruption by the English, of the word Wetu ô muck, which means "at Home" or "at their Home". These habitations were usually round, having a diameter on the ground, of, from ten, to fifteen feet, and tapering upward. Poles

were cut by the men, bound at the top, and spread apart at the bottom. These were covered with mats, made by the women; inside, embroidered mats were often used, as Mr. Williams says, "making as fair a show amongst them as hangings do with us." Mr. Williams also says that in summer, Birch, and Chestnut bark, was often used for their coverings. An open space at the top permitted the smoke to escape, and the door consisted of a mat. These habitations were sometimes made oblong, instead of round, in which case more open "holes", for chimneys, were left. There were as many fires as holes. In the smaller of these habitations two families would dwell "comfortably and lovingly together". The Indians, like the English, dwelt chiefly in villages, or communities. Mr. Williams says that in a journey in their country, one might count a dozen villages within a walk of twenty miles. These villages were constantly changing in position, never staying long in the same place. No trait was stronger among the Narragansetts than this love of home. They had a word, Nickquënum, which meant "I am going home". Concerning it, Mr. Williams says: "It is a solemn word amongst them, and no man will offer any hindrance to him, who after some absence, is going to visit his family, and useth the word Nickquënum." Commonly their houses are left open day and night; their door is often a hanging mat, which is a species of basket work; others make slighter doors, of birch bark, or sometimes chestnut; and still others make them with boards, and nails, which they obtained from the English. These doors can be fastened within by a cord; or with rude wooden bolts used when the family are away for a short season. The last Indian who leaves the home after fastening the door on the inside, leaves by way of the "chimney", or hole at the top, for the escape of smoke. The Indian word for a "round" house, was Puttuckakaun; for a longer house, for two fires, it was Neesquuttow; for a three fire house, it was Shwishcuttow. The furniture of an Indian house, was confined to very few things. They had no chairs, nor tables. The better class used mats for carpets, and sat upon them. Baskets were used in place of shelves; and they made bags, or sacks, from hemp holding five or six bushels, in which were kept their winter food. They had stone mortars, and pestles, with which to pulverize the corn; stone trays; and stone spoons, stone knives

and stone axes; after the coming of the English iron and steel were substituted for the stone implements especially among the Sachems. Williams speaks of sending a messenger with a letter from Cawcum-squassuck (Wickford) to Nameug (New London) for which he gave the Indian messenger six awls. The Great Chiefs here, Canonicus and Miantinomi, possessed iron kettles when Roger Williams first went to see them. He saw ten or twelve of them. They came probably from Plymouth. There is an Indian word meaning a red copper kettle, showing that they must have heard of such a utensil. But the vessels used commonly by the tribe, as pots, or pans, or kettles were of stone. Recently, in 1885, a ledge of Steatite was uncovered at the foot of Notaquonckanet, in Johnston. This ledge was covered with pots, or pans, in process of manufacture. They were "looted" immediately. Not the slightest effort was made to preserve this curious manufactory. One of the most remarkable constructions was what we might term an Indian Bath house. Williams gives its name as Pesuponck, which means a "hot house", and thus describes it (Indian Key 211):

"This Hot-house is a kind of little cell, or cave, six or eight foot over, round, made on the side of a hill (commonly by some rivulet or brook); into this frequently the men enter after they have exceedingly heated it with store of wood, laid upon an heape of stones in the middle. When they have taken out the fire, the stones keepe still a great heat; ten, twelve, twenty, more or lesse, enter at once starke naked, leaving their coats, small breeches (or aprons) at the doore, with one to keepe all; here doe they sit round their hot stones an hour or more taking Tobacco, discoursing and sweating together; which sweating they use for two ends; first to cleanse their skins; secondly to purge their bodies, which doubtless is a great meanes of preserving them, and recovering them from disease, which by a sweating and some potions they perfectly and speedily cure; when they come forth (which is matter of admiration) I have seen them runne (summer and winter) into the brookes, to coole them without the least hurt."

This Indian sweat house is still in use, or was, as recently as 1890, by the western Indians. "Temescal" is the name of it among those tribes nearest to Mexico, and speaking the Spanish language. Book



Notes (v. 10, p. 122) gives an account of this, from which I make this extract: "The sweat house is usually built near the stream on which an Indian village is invariably situated; a fire is built in the center, and the smoke hole closed, and made tight with mud. Stripped naked the Indians ranged themselves in a circle round the fire; the door is closed and plastered with mud from the outside. The Indians, if it be in a central county, begin a dance, going round and round the fire until they are in a state of profuse perspiration. This is kept up until they are obliged to stop from exhaustion; then bursting open the door, they plunge into the neighboring stream."

It was not common among the Narragansetts for an Indian to have more than one wife; but to one wife he was not restricted. Quanopen had three wives. The reasons given by themselves for having a plurality of wives were two. First, the desire for riches. "The Indian women," Mr. Williams said, "bring by their labors all the increase of the fields." Hence, it was a matter of business. The more wives, the more property. Things have changed perhaps since those days.

The second reason was, the long sequestration of women during conception, and until the child was born and had been named. The mother nursed the child, which was kept long at the breast, some of them long after they were a year old. Among the Sachems, and the wealthier Indians, it was common for an Indian mother to maintain a nurse for the care of her children. Mr. Williams says "they abounded with children, and increased mightly, except a plague, or some lesser sickness appeared among them. In such a case, having no means of combatting disease, they perished wonderfully." Those who listen to tales of Indian Doctors, with Indian remedies, will do well to note this fact.

Of the child bearing of the Indian mother, Williams gives curious particulars thus, it hath pleased God in a wonderful manner to moderate that curse, the sorrows of child-bearing, so that ordinarily they have a more speedy, and easy travail, and delivery, than the women of Europe; not that I think God is more gracious to them above other women, but that it follows first from the hardness of their constitutions, in which respect they bear their sorrows easier, and secondly from their extraordinary great labor, even above the labor

of men; most of them count it a shame for a woman in travail, to make complaint; I have often known, in one quarter of an hour, a woman, merry in the house, and delivered, and merry again, and within two days abroad, and after four, or five days, at work. They have a system of divorce for certain causes, which save one, adultery, Williams does not mention; but he says that he knew many couples who lived twenty, thirty, or forty years together. Marriage was solemnized after consent of the parents, and by publique approbation, publicely, by the contracting parties, not unlike the manner of the Society of Friends in these later years. (Indian Key 168.)

The ties of consanguinity were extremely strong. Mr. Williams gives an instance that he had known (Indian Key 58) of an Indian whose child had died, who took the loss of the child so grievously that he cut and stabbed himself for grief and sorrow; the infliction of pain upon oneself for sorrows, or in punishment for wrongs done in the flesh were not unknown to the early Christians. The Indian had these words relating to the ties of consanguinity, Father, Mother, Son, Daughter, Uncle, Brother, Sister, Cousin. The equivalent of Aunt, is not given. This extreme affection for their children makes their children saucy, bold, and undutiful. I once came into a house, and requested some water to drink; the father bade his son, of some eight years of age, to fetch some; the boy refused, and would not stir; I told the father that I would correct my child if he should disobey me in such a manner. Upon this the father took up a stick, the boy another, with which he flew at his father; upon my persuasion the poor father made him smart a little, whereupon he threw down his stick and ran for the water, at which the father admitted the benefit of the correction, and the evil consequences of their too indulgent affections."

The strongest relationship seems to have been the bond of brotherhood, which was held so dear that 'twas common for a brother to pay the debt of a deceased brother; there was a case where an Indian was executed for the crime of murder committed not by himself, but by his brother, a view of the ties of consanguinity, a trifle too close to be comfortable; here Mr. Williams speaks of a case of murder, a crime which in another place, he says was a crime unknown to the Indians. The case was exceptional.

"There were no beggars among them, nor fatherless children unprovided for." (Key 58.) But again Mr. Williams said: "I have often seen an Indian with great quantities of money about him beg a knife of an Englishman." (Key 183.) Still again Mr. Williams says: "Many of them naturally (especially) princes, or else industrious persons, are rich, and the poor among them will say they want nothing." (Indian Key 70.) Again, "Cowequetummous," meaning "I beseech you," is a word which they will often use, although there is not one common beggar among them." (Indian Key 197.)

The money of the Indians consisted of certain parts of two shells. These two varieties were the one white, the other black, "inclining to blue." The white was made from the shell of the Periwinkle, as we now call the shellfish. The outer shell was broken off and the inner shell was cut into small pieces, or beads, in which a hole was bored, whereby the "money" might be collected on a string or sinew. The black was made from the shell we now call a quahaug. In 1643 six of these pieces of white "money" was current here with the English for one penny (Indian Key 173). When stringed it was counted by the fathom—a fathom was in 1643 current at five shillings, English. It had fallen, Mr. Williams says, "from (9) nine and sometimes (10) ten shillings per fathom to its then price of five shillings. It was current far into the interior—Mr. Williams says "six hundred miles from New England." Such a thing as the redemption of it was no more thought of than is the redemption of gold now thought of by us. The fall of 1643 Mr. Williams attributed to the decline in the value of beaver skins in England (Key 175). Mr. Williams says: "They have as great differences of their 'coyne' as the English have; some of it would not pass current save at a discount. Still more civilized, there was a counterfeit 'coyne' made of a black stone" (Key 181). The white they call wampom, which signifies white; the black they call suckauhock, which signifies black. The relative value Mr. Williams gives as among themselves, as also the English and the Dutch "the black penny is twopence white; the black fathom is double, or two fathom of white" (Indian Key 176). Mr.

Williams gives the Indian word *Mâno* as meaning "to cry or bewaile." "This bewailing is very solemn among them morning and evening; sometimes in the night they bewail their lost husbands, wives, children, etc. This lasts a quarter, or a half, or even a whole year" (Key p. 71). In such times "they count it prophane to play, as they much do, or to paint themselves for beauty—but only for mourning, unless they have a dispensation given."

They were great smokers of tobacco, Mr. Williams says, "which some doe not, but they are rare birds" (Key 72). The Narragansetts made stone pipes, but the most extraordinary pipes, he says, "came from the *Mauquauwogs*" (Mohawks). "They were two feet long, with men or beasts carved so big or massie that a man may be mortally hurt by one of them" (Key 72). "All the men throughout the country have a tobacco bag, with a pipe in it, hanging at their backs." "They generally all take tobacco, and it is commonly the only plant which men labor in producing, the women managing all the rest; they say they take tobacco for two causes; first, against the rhaume, which causeth toothache, which they are impatient of; secondly, to revive and refresh them, they drinking nothing but water." That which we call smoking was in those days often called drinking tobacco. But the tobacco here spoken of was not the Virginia plant now used (Indian Key 43). In still another place Mr. Williams says: "Every man hath his pipe of their tobacco" (Indian Key 82). The word "their" indicates peculiarity. Mr. Williams gives a word, *Nqussutam*, meaning "I remove house." It was indeed a curious and interesting practice. "They do upon these occasions remove from thick (wooded) warm valleys where they winter, a little nearer to their summer fields; when 'tis warm then they remove to their fields where they plant corn; in the middle of summer, because of the abundance of fleas, which the dust of the house breeds, they will fly and remove on a sudden from one part of the field to a fresh place; sometimes having fields a mile or two or many miles asunder, when the work of one field is over they remove house to the other. If death fall in among them, they presently remove to a fresh place. If an enemy approach they

remove into a thicket or swamp, unless they have some fort to remove into" (Indian Key 74). This suggests the existence, possibly, of the Queen's Fort in 1643. "Sometimes they remove to a hunting house in the end of the year, and forsake it not until the snow lies thick; then will travel home men, women and children through the snow thirtie, yea, fiftie, or sixtie miles; but their great remove is from their summer fields to warm and thick woodie bottoms where they winter. They are quick. In half a day, yea, sometimes at a few hours warning to begone and the house up elsewhere. I once in travel lodged at a house at which in my return I hoped to have lodged again there the next, night; but the house was gone in that interim and I was glad to lodge under a tree." The men make the poles, or stakes; but the women make and set up, take down, order, and carry the mats and household stuff" (Indian Key, Narr. Club ed. 74). These daily habits of dress or undress Mr. Williams gives with much detail. "Although they have a beast's skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the fore-parts, from top to toe, except their secret parts, covered with a little apron, after the pattern of their, and our, first parents; I say all else is open and naked. Their male children goe stark naked, having no apron, until they come to ten or twelve years of age; their female they, in a modest blush, cover with a little apron of an hand breadth from their very birth." This Mr. Williams calls "first, ordinary, and constant nakedness." Their "second" he thus describes as being "when their men, often abroad, and both women and men within doors, leave off their beast's skin, or English cloth, and so, excepting their little apron, are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keep their skin, or cloth, though loose, or near to them, ready to gather it up about them. Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it; and in such a freedom from wantonness that I have never seen that wantonness amongst them as with grief I have heard of in Europe." The skins commonly used were of the deer, the beaver, the otter, the raccoon, the wolf, the squirrel and last, but not least, the moose. The deer and moose skins were commonly painted for summer wearing with varieties of forms and colors. The colors known to them Mr. Williams

gives as being White, Black, Red, Yellow, Green (which he spells with the final (e), and Blue. These we must consider as being the fundamental colors of today. The Indian had no knowledge of compounding the primary colors. The Narragansetts had another method of decorating their coats, "curiously made," Mr. Williams says, "of the fairest feathers of their *Neyhommauog*, or turkies." This ornamentation was not done by the women, but "commonly their old men make it; and it is with them as Velvet is with us." "Within their skin or coat they creep contentedly, by day or night, in the house or in the woods, and sleep soundly, counting it a felicity, as indeed an earthly one it is, *Intra pelliculam quemque tenere suam*, that every man be content with his skin." Our word moccasin came from the Narragansett Indian word mocusinass, a shoe or shoes. These Indians made "both shoes and stockings from their worn out deer skins, which yet being excellently tanned by them, is excellent for to travel in wet and snow, for it is so well tempered with oil that water wrings out of it; and being hanged up in their chimney, they presently drie without hurt, as I myself hath often proved." He continues: "Our English clothes are so strange unto them, and their bodies so inured to endure the weather, that when some of them have had English clothes, yet in a shower of rain I have seen them rather expose their skins to the wet than their clothes, and therefore put them off and keep them dry. While, however, they were amongst the English, they keep on the English apparel, but pull off all as soon as they come again into their own homes and company" (Indian Key 143). There is among us a word, Nocake, meaning a kind of cake made of "Indian" meal; in the Southern States it is Hoe-cake; among the Narragansetts it was No'kehick, and was, as Mr. Williams says, "a readie and very wholesome food," which was made from corn, pounded, then parched, and then eaten "with a little water, hot or cold." Mr. Williams tells of a journey which he once made "with neere two hundred of them at once, neere one hundred miles through the woods, every man carrying a little basket of this (parched and pounded corn) at his back, or sometimes in a hollow leather girdle about his middle, sufficient for a man three or four days; with this ready provision and their bow and arrows they are ready for war

or for travel at an hour's warning." Then continues Mr. Williams: "With a spoonful of this meal and a spoonful of water from the brook, have I made many a good dinner and supper." Somp is a name long given in New England to a kind of coarse Indian meal. It came from Narragansett Indian, Nasaump. They also ate the flesh of the deer, as also of many other animals. Fish of every kind, clams and every other shell-fish. Geese, Duck, Turkeys, and Fowls after the English came. Concerning the somp, of which the English had learned from the Indians, Mr. Williams says: "It may be eaten hot or cold, with milk or butter, which are mercies beyond the natives' plain water, and which is a dish exceeding wholesome for English bodies." They were hospitable to everybody, Mr. Williams says. "Whomsoever cometh in when they are eating, they offer them to eat of that which they have, though but little enough prepared for themselves. If any provision (amount of) fish or flesh come in, they make their neighbors partakers with them. If any stranger come in, they presently give him to eat of what they have. Many a time, and at all times of the night, as I have fallen in travel upon their houses, when nothing hath been ready, have themselves and their wives risen to prepare me some refreshing. It is a strange truth that a man shall generally find more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these Barbarians than amongst thousands that call themselves Christians" (Indian Key 46).

Whenever they sleep, whether within or without their houses, they have a fire. This fire is to them their bedclothing, Mr. Williams says. "I have known them contentedly sleep by a fire, under a tree, when some of the English have, for want of familiarity and (of a knowledge of the) language with them, been fearful to entertain them. In summer time I have known them lie abroad, often themselves, to make room for strangers, English, or others." Having abundance of wood, they lay it on the Fire, "plentifully when they lie down to sleep whether in winter or summer; and so themselves and any who have occasion to lodge with them must be content to turn often to the fire if the night be cold, and they who first wake must repair the fire. Sweet rest is not confined to soft beds, for not only *God* gives his *beloved* sleep or hard lodgings, but Nature and custom also gives sound sleep to these Americans on the Earth,

on a 'Boord' or on a Mat" (Indian Key 49). Mr. Williams says: "Their delight was in hearing the news," and that their desire for it was as great as was that of the Athenians; a stranger who can relate news in their own language, they will style him Manitto, a god" (Indian Key 82). In another place Mr. Williams relates a bit of personal experience which throws light on their insatiate passion for "news." He says: "I once traveled to an Island of the wildest in our parts. I was alone, having travelled from my Barke, the wind being contrary, and little could I speak to them to their understanding, especially because of the change of their Dialect, or manner of speech, from our neighbors; yet so much, through the help of God, I did speak, of the True and Only Wise God; of the Creation; of Man, and his fall from God, &c., that at parting many burst forth, 'Oh, when will you come again to bring us some further *newes* of this God?' " (Indian Key 49). Their manner upon hearing the news was to sit round the speaker. Mr. Williams says, "I have seen a thousand in a round," and giving "deep silence and attention to him that speaketh." Many of them will deliver themselves, either in a relation of news, or in a consultation, with very emphatical speech, and great action, commonly an hour, and sometimes two hours together. They are impatient, as all men, and God Himself is, when their speech is not attended, or listened to." One method of "encoring" a speaker, to-day, might well have been taken from these Indians, for it is quite as barbarous. They constantly flattered their Princes, and sometimes their common orators, by shouting Coanâumwem—"You speak true"; or Wunnaumwaw ewo—"He speaks true". (Indian Key 83.) Mr. Williams made a visit to "Martin's (Martha's Vineyard)", at some time before 1643 and it doubtless was the "Island" above referred to by him as visiting.

Having no horses, nor other beasts of burthen, their only mode of travel on land was on foot. Mr. Williams says, "It is admirable to see what paths their naked hardened feet have made in the wilderness, in the most stony and rockie places." The wilderness being so vast, it is a mercy that for hire a man shall never want guides, who will carry provisions, and such as hire them, over the rivers, and brooks, and find out oftentimes hunting houses, or other lodgings, at



night; I have heard of many English being lost, and have oft been lost myself; and myself and others have often been found and succoured by the Indians." They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from birth stretched and bound up in a strange way on their cradle backward, as also annointed (Indian Key 98). This needs explanation, and it is to be found in this from Wood's New England Prospect (Chap. 20, pt. 2). "The young infant being greased and sooted, wrapt in a Beaver skin with his feet up to his bumme, upon a board two feet long and one foot broad." Such were their cradles. "They were joyful in travel," Mr. Williams says, "in meeting any, and will strike fire either with stones, or sticks, to take tobacco, and discourse a little together. I have upon occasion travelled many a score, yea, many a hundredth mile amongst them, without need of a stick or staff, for any appearance of danger from them; yet it is a rule among them that it is not good for a man to travel without a weapon nor alone" (Indian Key 101).

The Narragansetts were great hunters of birds, Mr. Williams says, concerning Geese, Swans, Brant, and other Ducks, of which they have abundance upon their waters, which "they take great pains to kill with their Bow and arrows." Cormorants were very numerous. "These they take in the night time, when they are asleep on the rocks, off at sea, and bring in at break of day great store of them." They caught "many fowle upon the plains" when they went to feed "under okes upon akrons," such as Geese, Turkeys, Cranes and others. Wuskowhàn, a wild Pigeon, was in certain seasons a great article of food for the Indian. The country at the north of Rhode Island, around Worcester, was known by a name meaning "Pigeon Country." The name Mr. Williams gives as Wuskowhannanauhit. He says: "In that place these 'fowle' breed abundantly, and by reason of their delicate food, especially in strawberrie time, when they pick up whole large fields of the old grounds of the natives, they are a delicate fowle, and because of their abundance and the facility of killing, they are and may be plentifully fed on." Curiously enough, the Narragansetts had a tradition which saved the lives of the crows. Scarcely one Indian in a hundred would kill them. This tradition was "that the crow brought them at first an Indian corn

in one case, and an Indian or French Beane in another, from the Great God Kautantouwit's field in the southwest, from whence came all their corn and beans." The crows, even then, as under civilization they do now, "pulled" occasionally the young corn sprouts; blackbirds did the same. To overcome this habit of these birds to "follow the matinal seed," "the Indians are very careful both to set their corn deep enough that it may have a strong root, not so apt to be pluckt up, yet not too deep, lest they bury it, and it never come up." They also put up little watch houses in the middle of their fields in which they, or their biggest children, lodge, and early in the morning "frighten the birds away. Concerning beasts, Mr. Williams makes this extraordinary contradiction; he gives (Indian Key 128) the word "Ockqutchaun-nug," which he says is "a wild beast of a reddish haire about the bigness of a pig, and rooting like a pig, from whence they give this name to all our swine." On the next page (129) Mr. Williams gives the Indian words Hogsuck and Pigsuck both as meaning swine, which he follows with this note: "This termination *suck* is common in their language; and therefore they add it to our English cattle, not else knowing what names to give them" (Indian Key 129). Mr. Trumbull says, in a note (128), that the word Ockqutchaun-nug, which the Indians gave to an animal which rooted, was the Wood-chuck; but whoever heard of a woodchuck which rooted with its nose as a hog roots; or of a hog which dug a hole into the earth with its feet as a woodchuck digs?

Their knowledge of fruits and nuts covered the entire product. Chestnuts they used "for a daintie all the year." Mr. Williams said: "They have an art of drying and so preserve them in their 'barnes' for a daintie." Acorns they also dried, and by boiling "they make a good dish of them. They not only ate walnuts, but they also make from them 'an excellent oil,' good for many uses, but especially for their anointing of their hands." They used Wild Cherries, Grapes, Huckleberries, Barberries, Cranberries and Strawberries. Concerning the latter, Mr. Williams says: "This berry is the wonder of all the fruits, growing naturally in these parts. It is of itself excellent. So that one of the chiefest Doctors of England was wont to say that God could have made, but God never did make a better berry." Note.—Concerning this paragraph it has been attributed by a news-

paper here in Providence to Lyman Beecher, and also to Isaac Walton. The first appearance of the paragraph was in the "Key to the Indian Language," by Roger Williams, published in 1643 in London, England. Mr. Williams did not state the name of the "chiefest Doctor" who wrote the paragraph, or possibly did not write, but orally uttered the remark. Thirteen years later, Walton published, in 1655, the second edition of the *Complete Angler*, in which he used this form "Doubtless God could have made a better berry, but doubtless God never did." Mr. Walton gave the name of the author as "Dr. Boteler." This physician died in 1621. He was the author of no books. The question arises, where did Williams find the paragraph, the author of it having been dead upwards of twenty years, and known also to Walton twelve years later still.

Mr. Williams continues: "In some parts where the natives have planted I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship within few miles compass. The Indians bruise them in a mortar and mix them with meal, and make Strawberry bread" (Indian Key 121). In speaking of Hurtle-berries Mr. Williams says: "Of which there are divers sorts sweet like currants, some opening, some of a binding nature." "These currants are dried by the natives and so preserved all the year, which they beat to a powder and mingle it with their parcht meal, and make a delicate dish, which is as sweet to them as plum or spice cake is to the English." "When a field is to be broken up, they have a very loving, sociable, speedy way to despatch it. All the neighbors, men and women, Forty, Fifty, a Hundred, join and come in to help freely. With friendly joining they breake up their fields, build their Forts, hunt the woods, stop and kill fish in the rivers."

They planted seeds, which grew a Vine, which bore, what Mr. Williams calls "Their Vine Apples." The Indian name was Askutasquash. The English dropped the Askuta, but kept the squash, and thus came our English word. This vine apple Mr. Williams said was of several colors, and a sweet, light, wholesome refreshing" (Indian Key 125). While Mr. Williams uses in his paragraphs the word canow, as meaning an Indian boat, yet the word, nor does the form canoe appear in his Indian vocabulary. The Narragansett word for a small boat was Mishoon.

Concerning them Mr. Williams says, "I have seen a native go into the woods with his hatchet carrying only a basket of corn and stones to strike fire; when he had felled his tree (being a chestnut) he made him a little house, or shed, of the bark of it; he puts fire, and follows the burning with fire, in the midst, in many places; his corn he boils, and hath the brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish; but so he continueth burning and hewing until he hath, within ten or twelve days, lying there alone at his work finished; and, getting hands (assistance) launch his boat with which afterwards he ventures out to fish in the Ocean." The motive power was a paddle, but Mr. Williams says, "Their own reason hath taught them to pull off a coat or two and set it up on a small pole with which they will sail before a wind ten or twenty miles." (Indian Key 133).

Mr. Williams says, "It is wonderful to see them venture in their canoes, and how, being overset, as I have myself been with them, they will swim a mile, yea, two miles or more, safe to land. I have been necessitated to pass waters diverse times with them; it hath pleased God to make them many times the instruments of my preservation. When sometimes in great danger I have questioned safety, they have said to me, 'Fear not, if we be overset, I will carry you safe to land.' " Mr. Williams mentions a naval battle, "I have known thirty or forty of these canoes filled with men, holding some of them twenty, or thirty, or forty men, and near as many more (canoes) of their enemies in a Sea Fight;" and there he leaves the subject, so interesting as he might have made it. They ate everything in the way of fish and shell-fish which they could get. They used largely nets made from hemp, some of them exceedingly strong. They would place these nets across a little river, or a cove, and kill bass as the tide ebbed, with their arrows. "Of the head and brains and fat" of this fish, the Indians (and English too) make a dainty dish. But of all things else, the clam was their pure delight. Mr. Williams says, "This is a sweet kind of shell-fish which all Indians generally over the country, winter and summer, delight in. At low water the women dig for them. This fish, and the natural liquor of it, they boil, and it makes thin broth and Nasaump (a

meal pottage), and thin bread seasonable and savory, instead of (for lack of) salt. The English swine dig and root these clams whenever they come, and watch the low water, as the Indian women do. Therefore of all the English cattle the swine are most hateful to all natives and they call them filthy cut-throats, etc." (Indian Key 140). It was to raise hogs that Mr. Williams bought the island Prudence; nearly all the smaller islands in the bay came to be used for that purpose. On these islands the pigs ran wild and were safe from wild animals.

Someone named Tylor defines in Webster's Dictionary the word "Manito" thus, "a name given by some tribes of American Indians, to a great spirit, whether good or evil, or to any object of worship." As giving collateral strength to his definition, Tylor cites, not Roger Williams, the highest of all authorities, but Henry W. Longfellow, who wrote only as a "Poet."

Someone named Bowker defines in Worcester's Dictionary the word "Manitou" thus, "the god of some tribes of the American Indians—an idol."

These definitions are ambiguous, being open to sundry meanings in accord with the bias of those seeking to use them. They were written for English readers. To such, the words, "a great spirit", necessarily means a living force, life, vitality. But no such meaning was fixed in the Indian mind. I am writing here solely concerning the Narragansetts, the greatest of the Eastern tribes. Again, it was not a name given solely by the Indians to "any object of worship". As for the Bowker definition, it has no correctness so far as the Narragansetts were concerned. Roger Williams gives the word "Manit" as being the singular, and meaning "a god"; "Manitto" as being in the plural, meaning "gods". Dr. J. H. Trumbull has translated the word "Manit" as meaning "that which surpasses, or, that which is extraordinary." (Indian Key, note 147). The correctness of this definition I propose attempting to maintain, by the help of Roger Williams, believing with Trumbull, that the "authority (of Williams was) to say the least, as good as any or 'all the manuscripts'". (Narragansett Club I, 219). Mr. Williams says, "There is a general custom amongst them at the apprehension of any excel-

lency in men, women, birds, beasts, fish, etc., to cry out "Manit-too": that is—it is a god—thus if they see one man excel others in wisdom, valor, strength, activity, etc., they cry out Manittoo, a god; and therefor when they talk among themselves of the English ships and great buildings, of the plowing of their fields, and especially of books and letters, they will end thus,—they are Gods." (Indian Key, Narragansett Club, edition 150). Again, Mr. Williams says, "Their desire of, and delight in news, is as great as the Athenians, and all men, more or less; a stranger that can relate news in their own language they will style him "Manittoo", a god. (Indian Key, Narragansett Club, edition 82). Concerning this, Mr. Trumbull says, "The common use by the Indians of these words "Manit and Manittoo, and their application by 'general custom', to everything excellent or extraordinary hardly authorize the inference which Mr. Williams drew of a belief in an Omnipotent Deity." (Indian Key, note 151). It is clearly established by these things that the definitions cited above are not correct, at least so far as the Narragansetts are concerned. No member of this tribe ever worshipped an English ship nor any other idol. An English "great building" was not an Indian "great spirit" nor were such objects ever worshipped; nor their making men Gods. I cannot accept the last fifteen words of Mr. Trumbull's note, to wit, "hardly authorize the inference which Mr. Williams drew of belief in an Omnipresent Deity." Mr. Williams made no such inference nor can such an inference be drawn from his statement "Of their religion". (Chapter XXI, Indian Key). Mr. Williams says, "First, they branch their God-head into many Gods, and second, they attribute it to creatures." Concerning the first, he says, "They have given me the names of thirty-seven." In another place he said, 'I find what I could never hear before (this was in February 1637-8) that they have plenty of Gods, or divine powers", as for instance "the sun, moon, fire, water, snow, earth, the deer, the bear, etc. I brought home from the Nanhiggonicks the names of thirty-eight of their Gods, all they could remember." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. 4, Ser. 6, 225, also Narr. Club 1, 148). This number was liable to an increase at any moment by contact with

some extraordinary, and to them, incomprehensible force. Mr. Williams says, "All these Gods in their solemn worships they invoke." (Indian Key, 148). To invoke does not necessarily mean to worship in the English sense. "The power I will invoke lies in her eyes." (Sidney's Arcadia, London, 1590). Mr. Williams could never have "inferred" an Omnipresent Deity as a belief of the Indians while having in his possession a list of thirty-eight Gods, one just as omnipresent as another. Of the names of these Gods, Mr. Williams has sent down to us exactly one dozen. The chiefest of them being "Kautantowwit", their great south-west God, to whose homes all souls go, and from whom came their corn and beans, as they say." (Indian Key, 149). It was a tradition as before written with them "that a crow brought them the first Indian corn and the first Indian bean (French bean, Mr. Williams puts it) from the Great God Kautantowwit's (sic) field in the South-west." (Indian Key, 114). Mr. Williams says, "They will generally confess that God made all; but these in special; nor do they deny that (the) Englishman's God made Englishmen, and the Heavens and (the) Earth there; yet their Gods made them, and the Heaven and Earth where they dwell." Creation then must have been, in the understanding of the Indians, the work of many Gods, neither one of whom could have been omnipotent. Among the Gods named by Mr. Williams, in English, are the Eastern, Western, Northern, Southern, House, Woman's, Children's, Sun, Moon, Sea and Fire. These Mr. Williams calls their fained (feigned) Deities; "so worship they the creatures in which doth rest some Deity, supposing that Deities be in these," that he had named. (Indian Key, 150). "They conceive that there are many Gods, or Divine Powers, within the body of man, in his pulse, his heart, his lungs, etc." (Indian Key, 152). Even Deer they conceive have Divine power within them (190).

In his tract, "Christenings Make Not Christians" (R. I. Hist. Tract 14), Mr. Williams demonstrates the impossibility of bringing a Narragansett Indian to a genuine conversion to the Christian religion. He says, "I could have brought the whole country to have observed one day in seven; I add to have re-

ceived a baptism, or washing in rivers, and to have them come to a stated church meeting, maintained priests and forms of prayers." \* \* \* "Some may ask why hath these been such a price (prize) in my hand not improved? Why have I not brought them to such a conversion as I speak of? I answer woe be to me if I call light darkness, or darkness light, sweet bitter, or bitter sweet; woe be to me if I call that conversion unto God, which is indeed conversion of the souls of millions in christendom from one false worship to another. \* \* \* It is not a suit of crimson satin will make a dead man live" (R. I. Hist. Tract 14, pp. 11, 12). In the light of such a religious belief it becomes difficult to quite understand some things which Mr. Williams relates. An Indian whose child died at break of day went forth in lamentations, with abundant tears, "O God, thou hast taken away my child; thou art angry with me. O turn thine anger from me, and spare the rest of my children." Again, if they have success in hunting, fishing, harvest, etc., they acknowledge God in it." (Indian Key, 148). This was written in 1643. Now observe the effect of forty-three years of such praying upon the Indian character. Mary Rowlandson, the wife of a Massachusetts clergyman, in 1675-6, was captured and carried into captivity, and after three months redeemed with merchandise. She says, "A praying Indian wrote the letter for her Master, Quanopen; there was another praying Indian who told me that he had a brother that would not eat horse, his conscience was so tender and scrupulous, though as large as hell for the destruction of poor Christians; another praying Indian, who, when he had done all the mischief that he could, betrayed his own father into the English hands, thereby to purchase his own life; another praying Indian was in the attack on Sudbury, though, as he was afterwards hanged as he deserved; there was another praying Indian so wicked and cruel as to wear a string about his neck strung with the fingers of Christians." (Rowlandson's Narrative 41, 42). Such was the testimony of a Massachusetts Puritan clergyman's wife concerning the missionary work of Major Humphrey Atherton and Captain Daniel Gookin. To the everlasting credit of the Narragansetts never were there such cases



known among them. The treachery of the Massachusetts praying Indians steeled the heart of every Narragansett against all their teachings in religion, which was as Roger Williams once wrote, "pray or be shot."

Mr. Williams says: "They are very desirous to come into debt; but he that trusts much sustain a two fold loss; first, of his commodity; secondly, of his custom, as I have found by dear experience. Some are ingenuous, plain hearted, and honest. But the most never pay unless a man follow them to their several abodes, towns, and houses, as I have been forced to do, which hardship and travels it hath yet pleased God to sweeten with some experience and some little gain of Lâguage" (Indian Key 186). The Indian Feasts were of a peculiar character. Mr. Williams says: "They are of two sorts, public and private. The public sort was in case of a general Sickness, or Drouth, or War, or Famine. The private sort was often after a Harvest, or a Hunt, when they enjoy a caulme of peace, plenty, and prosperity." There is another feast called by the Indians *Nickommo*. This was a Winter feast "for them, as the Turk says of the Christian, they run mad once a year in their kind of Christmas feasting" (Indian Key 153). The first of these sorts of feasts was religious in character. Mr. Williams says: "They keep open house for all to come to help to pray with them, unto whom also they give money" (Indian Key 187). Their Priests, or Conjuring Doctors, manage these feasts (152). Mr. Williams says: "He or she that makes this Nickommo Feast or Dance, besides the feasting of twenty, fifty, an hundred, yea, I have seen near a thousand persons at one of them; they (who give the feast) give, I say, a great quantity of money and all sorts of their goods (according to and sometimes beyond their estate) in several small parcels of goods, or money, to the value of eighteen pence, two shillings, or thereabouts, to one person; upon receiving this gift, the person receiving goes out, and hollowes thrice (gives three cheers) for the health and prosperity of the party who gave the Feast" (Indian Key 153). Mr. Williams continues: "By this feasting and these gifts the Devil drives on their worship pleasantly, as he doth all false worship, by such plausible earthly arguments, &c., Immunities, Dignities and Rewards unto submitters, and the contrary unto refusers" (153), "so

the Indian runs, far and near, to aske, 'who makes a feast.' " Mr. Edward Winslow (*Good News from New England*, London, 1624) gives some account of these Feasts of the Narragansetts. He says "they exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house wherein only some few that are, as we term them, priests come. Thither at certain known time (Christmas) resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their Gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, &c., all which are cast by the priests in a great fire that they make in the midst of the house and these consumed to ashes." This account differs somewhat from that by Mr. Williams, but it does not discredit Mr. Williams. Stone implements, like kettles, hatchets, knives, &c., could not be burned to ashes by any possible Indian fire in any conceivable Indian house. That this was a thing peculiar to the Narragansetts appears from a further statement by Mr. Winslow: "This the other Indians about us approve of as good, and with their Sachems would appoint the like; and because the plague hath not reigned at Nanohigganset as at other places about them, they attribute to this custom there used." Mr. Alexander Young, whose reprint of Winslow I am obliged to follow, here makes two notes (*Chronicles of the Pilgrims* 359) which apparently he thinks shatters this statement of Winslow's, but the two references do not touch except to confirm it.

Mr. Williams says: "Of the Hunting," that is, the pursuit of game, "they hunt in two ways; first, when they pursue their game, especially Deer, which is the general and wonderfull plenteous hunting (in companies of) twenty, forty, fifty, yea, two or three hundred in a company, as I have seen, when they drive the woods before them. Secondly, they hunt by traps of several sorts, to which purpose, after they have observed in Spring-time and in Summer, the haunts of the Deer; then about Harvest they go, ten or twenty together and sometimes more, and withal, if it be not too far, wives and children also, where they build little hunting houses of barks and rushes, not comparable to their dwelling houses; and so each man takes his bounds of two or three or four miles where he sets thirty, forty, or fifty traps, and baits his traps with that food the Deer loves, and once in two days he walks his round to view his traps" (*Indian Key* 189). "They are very tender of their traps, where

they lie, and what comes at them, for they say the Deer will soon smell and be gone." Wolves were abundant and sometimes seized and devoured a deer entrapped, and sometimes the Indian killed the wolf, thus obtaining some recompense for the venison lost, in the wolf's skin which he valued. Then Mr. Williams tells this story: "I remember how a poor Deer was long hunted and chased by a Wolf; at last, as in their manner, after a chase of ten, or may be more miles, running, the stout wolf tired out the nimble Deer, and seising upon it, killed. In the act of devouring his prey, two English swine, big with pig, past by, assaulted the wolf, drove him from his prey, and devoured so much of the poor Deer as they both surfeited and dyed that night." Then Mr. Williams moralizes thus: "The Wolf is an emblem of a fierce blood-sucking persecutor; the Swine of a covetous, rooting, worldling; both make a prey of the Lord Jesus in his poor servants (Indian Key 191). "When a deer is caught by the leg in the trap, sometimes there it lies a day together before the Indian comes, and so lies a prey to the raging wolf and other wild beasts, but most commonly the wolf, who seaseth upon the Deer and robs the Indian. . . . Upon this the Indian makes a falling trap called Sunnuckhig, with a great weight of stones, and so sometimes knocks the wolf on the head with a gainful revenge, especially if it be a black wolf, which skins they greatly prize" (Indian Key 191).

Games of chance were common to all Indians; there were two sorts; one Mr. Williams says was "a game like unto the English cards, yet in stead of cards they play with strong rushes." Mr. Williams gives no explanation of the game, but Mr. Wood (New England's Prospect) gives a brief account. It was called *Puim* and was played with 50 or 60 small Bents of a foot long, which they divide to the number of their gamesters, shuffling them first between the palms of their hands; he that hath more than his fellow is so much the forwarder in his game; many other strange whimseys be in this game, which would be too long to commit to paper." And so we are left. Bents is the English Provincial name of a kind of grass, "hard, dry, coarse grasses, reeds and rushes" (Wright's Provincial Dictionary). Mr. Williams: "Secondly, they have a kind of Dice, which are Plum-stones painted, which they cast in a

tray with a mighty noise, and sweating." Here Mr. Williams fails to give us the details, so I again quote Mr. Wood: "Hubbub is a game not much unlike cards and Dice, being no other than lotterie." It is played with "five small bones in a small smooth tray; the bones bee like a Die, but something flatter, black on one side and white on the other, which they place in the ground, against which violently thumping the platter, the bones mount, changing colors with the windy whisking of their hands too and fro which action in that sport they must use, smiting themselves on the breast and thighs, crying out Hub, Hub, Hub. They may be heard a quarter of a mile off. The bones being all black or white make a double game; if three be of a color, and two of another, then they afford but a single game; four of a color and one different is nothing." Mr. Trumbull, to whom I am indebted for this note, gives us also this: "The Abnakis played this game with eight such dice, or counters. When the black and white turned up, 4 and 4, or 5 and 3, the player made no count. For 6 and 2 he counted 4. For 7 and 1 he counted 10; and when all eight were of one color, twenty" (Narr. Club 1, 194). This account came from Sebastien Rale's "Dictionary of the Abnaki Language." Rale was killed, in what is now Maine, in 1724. His Dictionary was three-quarters of a century after Mr. Williams' Key was written, and after three generations of Indians had succeeded the players whom Williams and Wood described. Mr. Williams says their public games are solemnized with the meetings of hundreds, sometimes thousands, and consist of many varieties, none of which I durst ever be present at, that I might not countenance and partake of their folly" (Indian Key 194). "The chief gamesters much desire to make *their Gods* side with them in their games, as our English gamesters so far also acknowledge God; therefore I have seen them keep as a precious stone a piece of thunderbolt, which is like unto a crystal, which they dig out of the ground under some tree, thunder smitten, and from this stone they have an opinion of success." I have known "an intelligent" white man who turned his stockings inside out, and wore them thus, to his broker's office, to turn the current of stock prices to his interest. This in Providence in the 20th century. Those Indians *were* barbarians. Mr. Williams thus describes these Puttuckquapnonck or

playing arbour: "This arbour or play house is made of Poles set in the earth, four square, sixteen or twenty foot high, on which they hang great store of their stringed money, have great stakings, town against town, and two chosen out of the rest by course to play the game at this kind of dice in the midst of all their abettors with great shouting and solemnity." Bailey's Dictionary (1735) defines "solemnity" as "the pomp of celebrating an annual feast." Foot Ball was another favorite game, also "town against town, upon some broad sandy shore, free from stones, or upon some soft heathie plot, because of their naked feet; at which they have great stakings, but seldom quarrel" (Indian Key 196). Mr. Williams also says: "They do also practice running of races." . . . "I have known many of them run between four score or an hundred miles in a Summer's day, and back within two days" (Indian Key 98). "But their *chiefest Idol*, of all, for sport and game is, if their land be at peace, towards Harvest, when they set up a long house called Quannekamuck, which signifies long house, sometimes an hundred and sometimes two hundred feet long, upon a plain near the court, where many thousands, men and women meet, where he that goes in danceth in the sight of all the rest; and is prepared with money, coats, small breeches, knives, or what he is able to reach to, and gives these things away to the poor, who yet must particularly beg and say Cowequetummous, that is, I beseech you; which word, although there is not one common beggar among them, yet they will often use when their richest are amongst them" (Indian Key 197).

Mr. Williams gives the word Juhettitea, meaning "Let us Fight," and Juhetteke, meaning "Fight." These words are, I think, the only words in the "Indian Key" in which the letter J will be found. The latter, he says, "is the word of encouragement which they use when they animate each other in war. They use their tongues instead of drums and trumpets" (199). They were quickly aroused to indignation, "not only in war, but in peace also; their spirits, in naked bodies, being as high and proud as men more gallant, from which sparks of the lusts of pride and passion begin the flame of war." The Indian word Kekaumwaw means "a scorner, or mocker." Mr. Williams says: "This mocking between their great ones is a great kindling of wars amongst them." Their method of battle Mr.

Williams thus sets forth: "Their wars are far less bloody and devouring than the cruel wars of Europe, and seldom twenty slain in a pitchd field; partly because when they fight in a wood every tree is a bucklar; when they fight in a plain, they fight with leaping and dancing that seldom an arrow hits. When a man is wounded, unless he that shot follows upon the wounded, they soon retire and save the wounded. Having no swords nor guns, all that are slain are commonly slain with great valor and courage; for the conqueror ventures into the thickest and brings away the head of his enemy" (Indian Key 204). In a preceding chapter (VII) Mr. Williams gives these illustrations: "Timequaissin means 'to cut off' or 'behead,' which they are most skilfull to do in fight. For whenever they wound and their arrow sticks in the body of their enemy, they, if they be valourous, and possibly can, follow their arrow, and falling upon the person wounded tearing his head a little aside by his hocke (scalp) in the twinckling of an eye fetch off his head though but with a sorry knife." "I know the man yet living who in time of war pretended to fall (desert) from his own camp to that of the enemy, proffered his service in the front with them against his own army from which he had revolted. He propounded such plausible advantages that he drew them out to battle, himself keeping in the front; but on a sudden shot their chief Leader and Captain, and being shot, in a trice fecht off his head and returned immediately to his own again from whom in pretence he had revolted" (Indian Key 79). The man here referred to by Mr. Williams was Socho, or Sosoa, from whom the Mishquomacuk lands (now Westerly) were first obtained. The preceding note does not quite clearly set forth the case. Socho was a Pequot; he married a Niantic squaw. The two tribes entered upon a war before the English came. Socho fought against his own nation. Of course they knew him, and supposing he had returned to them, they received him. Then, pretending to lead them, he killed their chief, whom, of course, he well knew. It was treachery double dyed. It brought him the Niantic lands, and these lands he sold to the English. These things are more fully set forth in the note on Miskquomacuk which follows herein. (Letters of Roger Williams, Narr. Club 6, 39.) Mr. Williams says: "The Indians are much delighted after a

battle to hang up the hands and heads of their enemies" (Indian Key 80).

Concerning the treachery of the Narragansetts, let me note the story told by William Harris in August, 1676, concerning Potuck, the great counsellor of Quaiapen. "Potuck he came to Providence lately inquiring how he might get to Boeston safe, pretending peace (the great Indian war was then in progress); but some unadvisedly not reaching his intent told him he had better goe to Rhode Island (the island), disafacting his going to ye Bay, and they neither considering that Rhode Island could make noe peace with him (Potuck) that would be ye Indeans peace with ye United Colonies, for that Rhode Island was not in that Confederacy. A peace made by Rhode Island would not be regarded by the Colony, thus preventing the war as binding upon them, to wit, these Colonies." Harris continues: "It was not safe for Rhode Island to trust the Indeans promises, they are soe perfideous allsoe". He proceeds: "Three men at Providence consented to his (Potuck's) going to ye island aforesaid, and sent him by water, and promesed him safe return." On this fair promise Potuck went. Upon his arrival "ye inhabitants girt on their swords and said he should not goe from the island alive." It has been usually written that Potuck was killed with his Queen at or near Natick by Connecticut troopers on the 2nd July, 1676. But if Harris states the fact, he was alive on the 12th of August, when his account was written—Potuck was never again heard from as being alive—on which side was "perfideous" action on that occasion? (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. 10, 175). The following footnote appears in the same volume: "Potuck was a Narragansett chief who seems to be first mentioned in connection with King Philip's war as an opponent to Christianity." Concerning this see the name Pojack among the notes following, and the work of the Praying Indians herein set forth. Concerning the religious twaddle of the time, read this severe note written by Williams to the Massachusetts Bay government in 1654: "I beseech you consider how the name of the most Holy and jealous God may be preserved between the clashings of these two, viz, the glorious conversion of the Indians in New England, and the unnecessary wars and cruel destructions of the Indians in New England" (R. I. Col. Rec. 1, 294).

The glorious conversion of the Indian was a never-failing "card" at that time used by designing men from Massachusetts in begging money to be used in such schemes. The Indian Bible was one of the results. Ten thousand dollars was twice begged, and books printed, which no Indian on earth could read and understand; this to save his soul according to the English fashion.

Mr. Williams uses this phrase in this elaborate paper: "All Indians are extremely treacherous" (page 297). But as applied to the Narragansetts, Mr. Williams renders it innocuous by a preceding clause: "The Narragansetts as they were the first, so they have been long confederates with you; they have *been true* in all the Pequod wars to you."

In cases of sickness, Mr. Williams says, "their misery appears, for they have not a raisin, nor a currant, nor physic, nor fruit, nor spice, nor any comfort more than their corn and water, wanting all means of recovery or present refreshing. I have been constrained beyond my power to refresh them, and I believe to save many from death." The visit of friends was all their refreshment or encouragement under such conditions; and their visits did not occur when a disease was thought to be infectious. "Then all forsake them and fly. I have often seen a poor house left alone in the wild woods, all being fled." They had actually no knowledge of any remedial agents in case of sickness. He illustrated Burton's classification of diseases (Anatomy of Melancholy). There were two; of one you will recover; of the other you will die; and that was the way with the Indian. "Their priests, or conjurers, bewitch the people, and not only take their money, but do most certainly, by the *help of the Devil* (not by drugs) work great cures; though most certain it is that the greatest part of their priests do merely abuse them and get their money in times of sickness, and to my knowledge *long for sick times*." In spite of "working great cures," Mr. Williams says, "the poor people commonly die under their hands, for alas they administer nothing, but howl and roar over them, and begin a song to the rest of the people about them" (Indian Key 213). Again, Mr. Williams says: "In sickness the priest comes close to the sick person and performs many strange actions about him, and threaten and conjure out the sickness (Indian Key 152). When sickness



appears in a family the females, young and old, blacken their faces with soot or black earth (plumbago); when death takes place the men follow the women and blacken with soot their faces". This "blackening" and lamenting lasts a longer or shorter time, according to the person, from a month to a year. Mr. Williams says: "As they abound in lamentations for the dead, so they abound in consolation to the living, and visit them frequently, using this word, Kutchimmoke, 'be of good cheer,' which they express by stroking the cheek and head of the father, or mother, husband or wife of the dead" (Indian Key 215). When a Narragansett died, his name died with him. It was never again allowed to be spoken. They had certain words, given by Mr. Williams (Key 216), which might be used. Mockuttasuit, for this was the name of the office of what we now call an "undertaker" or "Funeral Director," was, Mr. Williams says, "one of chief esteem who winds up and buries the dead; commonly some wise, grave and well educated man hath that office. When they come to the grave they lay the dead by the Grave's mouth, then all sit down and lament; after the dead is laid in the grave, and sometimes some goods cast in with the dead, a second great lamentation follows; then upon the grave is spread the mat on which the party died; the dish he ate in; and sometimes a fair coat of skin hung upon a tree near to the grave, which none will touch, but suffer it there to rot with the dead. I saw with mine own eyes the chief and most aged peaceable Father of the Country—Canonicus—having buried his son, he burned his own Palace and all the goods in it, to a great value, in a solemn remembrance of his son, and in a kind of humble expiation to the Gods" (Indian Key 218).

Roger Williams gives to Canonicus this fine character: "Many English have experimented them to be inclined to peace and love with the English nation. Their late famous long-lived Canonicus so lived and died, and in the same most honorable manner and solemnity, in their way, as you laid to sleep your prudent peace-maker, Mr. Winthrop, did they honor this their prudent and peaceable prince" (R. I. Col. Rec. v. 1, p. 296).

There is another and directly opposite statement of the Indian character, specifically that of the Narragansetts, attributed to Mr.

Williams. It is by the Rev. John Callender, a young Baptist clergyman at the time of his writing. Mr. Callender said: "Mr. Williams at first gave a promising character of the morals of these people, but on longer acquaintance and more experience he seems to have altered his opinion of them, as appears by some expressions in a manuscript of his yet remaining. 'The distinction of drunken and sober honest Sachems is (says he) both lamentable and ridiculous; lamentable that all Pagans are given to drunkenness, and ridiculous that those (of whom he was speaking) are excepted. It is (says he) notoriously known what consciences all Pagans make of lying, whoring, murdering, &c., 25th, 6th, m. 1658" (Callender's Historical Discourse, 1738, p. 85). Mr. Callender does not cite the location of the Document from which he made his quotation. I cannot deny that he may have seen it; but no other writer has ever seen it. There is known another Document written by Roger Williams, the existence of which cannot be questioned. It was written to the Massachusetts General Court, 5 October, 1654, nearly four years before Mr. Callender's citation; and while not directly contrary to that citation, it raises very serious doubt. In this statement of 1654 Mr. Williams said: "I cannot yet learn that it ever pleased the Lord to permit the Narragansetts to stain their hands with any English blood, neither in open hostilities *nor secret murders*, as both Pequots and Long Islanders did, and Mohegans also, in the Pequot wars. It is true they are barbarians, but their *greatest offences* against the English have *been matters of money*, or petty revenging of themselves on some Indians, upon extreme Provocation, but God kept them clean of our blood" (Narr. Club 6, 274). While this is not direct contradiction to the citation, it in effect obscures it. The authority used by Mr. Callender even if true would not justify the language which he uses. In the preceding paper the Indian character is described as it existed here in 1642, as Mr. Williams then saw it. It was printed in London in the summer of 1643. Fifteen years later had Mr. Williams had occasion to describe the Indian character as it then existed, it might have been a very different matter. This clause of 1658 does not show that Mr. Williams had "*altered his opinion* of them," as he had stated it fifteen years before. In the copy of Callender's Discourse which I have

used there is a manuscript note written by Moses Brown at some time between 1802 and 1838. This is Mr. Brown's note: "It would be sorrowful if they were corrupted in their morals by the intercourse of, and the temptation to, drunkenness by the white people among them. Does not this seem to be the case, seeing Roger speaks so favorably of them at first and so differently at last? Perhaps himself was not in so good a state to judge of them at last as at first; they certainly treated him and his associates at first with great hospitality." In 1885 the Historical Society published in its Collections (vol. 7, pp. 134-237) a paper on the Narragansetts, by Henry C. Dorr. It is positively an awful description of corrupt rottenness as Mr. Dorr saw it. On page 154 Mr. Dorr says: "The process of debasement went on unchecked under the influence of English trade." The writer has carefully reviewed this paper by Mr. Dorr, but has never printed his conclusion. There is scarcely a paper ever printed here so utterly rotten in the fundamental statements in it as this by Mr. Dorr. Moreover, the logical sequences are absurd. The writer tried to explain some of them to Mr. Dorr, but he would not listen. The paragraph which I have cited in an instant overturns the entire paper. The Historical Society has preserved to us one other citation. It is this: "Benedict Arnold traded with the Indians on the Sabbath, being a factor (an agent of a merchant) for them from Massachusetts, supplied with commodity for those having toleration to sell provisions to the Indians, but not the English" of Providence or Warwick, his own countrymen. Is it to be supposed that rum was not among the commodities with which Benedict Arnold was supplied for the Indians? (R. I. Hist. Soc. Col., vol. 2, 52). A note concerning a Massachusetts Indian Sachem named Cutshamokin may not be here without interest. This Sachem was the first sought by Eliot for conversion; and he was the first converted by the preaching of Eliot (Francis' Life Eliot, 171). He became one of the "Praying Indians". Mr. Francis, a Unitarian clergyman at Cambridge, wrote in 1835, this, concerning this Indian Sachem: "He had been to the Narragansett country to appease some strife among his brother Sachems. On the journey he and his companions had purchased 'much strong water' at Gorton's settlement, the consequences of which were

revelry and intoxication; though Cutshamokin himself was not known to have been drunk, yet his conduct was scandalous". A few days later, on the 24th September, 1651, Eliot held a day of "fasting and humiliation", when he permitted this renegade to offer prayers, implore the forgiveness of his sins, and further implored God that the spirit of the Lord might govern his heart (Francis's Life Eliot, p. 172). This in all soberness this clergyman writes, after having on the preceding page (171) written that Mr. Eliot "was doubtful in respect of the thoroughness of his heart". If his actions in Rhode Island did not indicate "thoroughness of heart," what did they indicate? But the Reverend clergyman has most falsely wronged Mr. Gorton by attributing to him the selling of the rum to Cutshamokin which caused this "scandalous conduct" of this "praying Indian". Mr. Gorton never sold or gave rum to Indians, while it was the constant work of Benedict Arnold as the Factor of Massachusetts. Before this rum was sold to Cutshamokin he had been used by Benedict Arnold, before the Massachusetts General Court, to break down the Deed given by Miantinomi to Mr. Gorton and his friends of Showomet. The Massachusetts Colony Records will prove this fact. (R. I. Hist. Soc. Col. 2, 93.) Mr. Williams has shown carefully and well the character of the Narragansetts as it existed before the "process of debasement" began, which Mr. Dorr says, "went on unchecked" under the influence of *English trade*. It took just forty years to undermine and destroy, by *rum* and *civilization*, one of the two great tribes in this country (Narr. Club 6, 273).

William Harris thus writes of the Narragansetts after the war of extermination in 1675-6 waged not by the Rhode Island people, but by the Connecticut, and Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay Colonies: "These Indians before the war did live with more ease, pleasure, and plenty, and far less care than poor laboring men or tradesmen in England"; again, "They now are not only in danger of the English (from those outside Colonies), but of divers sorts of Indians, and of their supposed friends; they are afraid of all they see, but *least of all* of those of Rhode Island" (Harris Papers, 178). Here is Harris's story of the deaths of Miantinomi and Canonchet: "Above thirty years since (in 1643), a Sachem of Narragansett, to say

Meantenomeah, whom God delivered into the hands of Unkas, who slew him; and ye foresaid Naunauntanute (Canonchet) who was the son of Meantenomeah ye father, slaynes by Unkas, and ye son by Unkas his son; the said Narraganset Sachems both of them monstrous proud, and both treacherous to ye English, and had not God formerly so cut off ye father, he had *then* done as did since his son, a most cruell man. O God soe defeat all thine enemies and deliver all that are innocent" (Harris Papers, 172). It was not God apparently who delivered Miantinomi into the hands of Uncas to be murdered by contract; but a synod of Massachusetts clergymen, who did the delivery and who sent two agents to see that the contract was executed.

Such was the character of these barbarians who gave shelter and food to Roger Williams and his five companions when they were driven by their own countrymen, then dwelling at Boston and Plymouth, in mid-winter, into the wilderness to find religious liberty.

I close this chapter on the characteristics of the Narragansetts with verses by Roger Williams. First their hospitality:

Let none sing blessings to their soules  
For that they courteous are;  
The wild barbarians with no more  
Than nature, goe so farre.

I've known them leave their house and mat  
To lodge a friend or stranger,  
When Jews and Christians oft have sent  
Christ Jesus to the Manger.

The very Indian boyes can give  
To many stars their name,  
And know their course, and therein doe  
Excell the English tame.

Oft have I heard these Indians say  
These English will deliver us  
Of all that's ours, our lands and lives;  
In the end they will bereave us.

CONCERNING  
THE  
INDIAN NAMES OF PLACES  
ON THESE LANDS  
AND  
THE MEANINGS OF  
THE SAME



#### CONCERNING NAMES AND PLACES

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Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull thus describes the knowledge of the Indian language possessed by Roger Williams: "It is evident he had not thoroughly mastered all the anomalies of Indian grammar and that he had not given much attention to the polysynthetic structure which characterizes this family of languages and renders every compound word a new puzzle" (Narr. Club 1, 66). Possibly Mr. Williams had considered the "anomalies of Indian grammar" more thoroughly than Mr. Trumbull gives him credit. We regarded the "Grammar way" of treating the language "as being not so accommodate to the benefit of all." This in 1643. (Indian Key, 88). But Mr. Eliot thought differently; he made a Grammar in 1666, twenty-three years later; but what was the result? We will let Prof. Converse Francis tell it: "The Grammar was not destined to become so extensively or permanently useful as its author hoped." "The interest in the Indian cause declined and the Grammar went out of notice." (Francis' Life, Eliot, 249).

On page 65 of the same volume, Mr. Trumbull quotes from Gov. Bradford (1649), "We (the Mass. Bay Col.) agree to send a copy (of the Treaty of Peace) to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret to them." Mr. Trumbull continues, "His services as an interpreter were in constant requisition." (p. 65). John Eliot was at that time an "apostle" to the Indians; he had dwelt in Massachusetts many more years than Williams had been allowed to live there. Why did not the Massachusetts Government select Eliot instead of Williams. Of what value was "Indian Grammar" in understanding the speech of a Narragansett Indian in 1636, or ever after. Polysynthetic structure means in philology "The formation of a word by the combination of several simple words". The slightest examination of the Indian Key will destroy Mr. Trumbull's statement that Roger Williams "had not given it much attention" The "Key" is filled with illustrations of such combinations.

Mr. Trumbull again cites Mr. Williams thus, "Men cannot preach to the Indians in any propriety of speech", and then adds these two



words without quotation marks, *without inspiration*. For this he cites "Bloody Tenent more Bloody (see Knowles, p. 328). Upon reference to Knowles it will be found that Knowles gives the reference for this language to Callender. It will be found in Callender (Rhode Island Historical Society edition, page 139.) But it is a misrepresentation of the opinions of Roger Williams, which opinion he has left to us in fixed type in the very neat form, made in 1735, by Callender; in 1834 by Knowles; and by Trumbull in 1866. I reproduce the exact language used by Williams from "The Bloody Tenent, yet more Bloody."

Mr. Williams said, "I believe that none of the ministers of New England, nor any person in the whole country is able to open the mysteries of Christ Jesus in any propriety of their speech, or language, without which propriety it cannot be imagined that Christ Jesus sent forth his first apostles." (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, ed. 1870, p. 371, 372).

Again, "The experience of the Discourses (Roger Williams himself) testify how hard it is for any man to attain a little propriety of their language in common things." (Page 372).

Again, "There being no helps of art and learning amongst them, I see not how without constant use, or a miracle, any man is able to attain to any propriety of speech amongst them even in common things." (Page 373). "And without propriety, who knows not how hardly all men, especially barbarians, are brought to hear matters of Heaven, so strong and contrary to Nature, yea even matters of Earth, except profit and other Earthly, worldly ends compel them to *spell* out men's minds and meaning." (Page 373).

Again, "Mr. Eliot, the ablest amongst them in the Indian speech, promising an old Indian a suit of clothes, the man (sayeth the relation, Shepard's *Clear Sunshine*) not well understanding Mr. Eliot's speech (in the Indian language), asked another Indian (Mr. Eliot's servant) what Mr. Eliot said." (Page 373). "The native not understanding such a common and welcome promise of cloth, upon gift, would far more hardly understand Mr. Eliot's preaching of the garment of righteousness Christ Jesus, unto which men mutually turn a deaf ear." (Page 374).

Again, I express this much (not) to dampen Mr. Eliot, or any

from doing all the good they can in any truly Christian way, but to show how great that mistake is that pretends such a true preaching of Christ Jesus to them in their own language." (Page 374).

Then continues Mr. Trumbull, "Roger Williams' Key has a value which is peculiar to itself and from no other source can we learn so many Indian names, general and specific, of objects animate and inanimate; it is in fact the only vocabulary of a language of southern New England which is trustworthy, or tolerably full; and this special value is enhanced by the fact that it was compiled before the language of the Narragansetts had been essentially modified by intercourse with the English, or by the influence of Eliot." (Narr. Club. *Indian Key*, 67). However much intercourse with the English modified the Indian language as spoken in what is now Rhode Island, the influence of Eliot had no existence here.

Mr. Williams thus writes, "At my last departure for England I was importuned by the Narragansett Sachem, and especially by Ninigret to present their petition to the high Sachem of England, that they might not be forced from their religion, and, for not changing their religion, be invaded by war, for they said they were daily visited with threatenings by Indians that came from Massachusetts, that if they could not pray they should be destroyed by war." (Letter of Williams to Mass. Gen. Court 1654). "Pray or be shot" was Mrs. Rowlandson's terse way of putting it. The influence of Eliot among the Narragansett Indians is again illustrated by Mr. Williams as follows: "It cannot be hid how all England has rung with the glorious conversions of the Indians in New England; you know how many books are dispersed throughout the nation on the subject; in some of them the Narragansett Chief Sachems are publicly branded for refusing to pray and be converted." (Williams letter to Gen. Court of Mass. 1654, Col. Rec. I, 294).

Concerning these Indian names Mr. Fessenden (Hist. Warren, R. I., p. 27) says, "The Indians invariably gave names to all varieties of land and water as necks, hills, rivers, springs, villages, countries, etc." For this Mr. Fessenden cites Callender's Historical Discourse, Hist. Soc. edition, p. 88. Mr. Callender wrote this discourse about 1734. He was a young Baptist clergyman at the time. He was the first person in Rhode Island to write "History" after the practical exter-

mination of the Narragansett tribe in 1676 by Connecticut and Massachusetts troops. For this reason his opinions might suggest authority but he did not make such a statement. It was made by Romeo Elton, another Baptist clergyman, who edited Callender's Discourse about a century after the Discourse was written by Mr. Callender. Neither of these writers had ever given study to the structure of the language of the Narragansetts. For these reasons it is clear that we can rely only upon the work of Roger Williams as it exists in the "Key", and in his other writing.

No Indian ever born could read and understand Eliot's Indian Bible. It was printed in 1663, and with it an "Indian Grammar", and in 1672 a treatise on Logic in the Indian language as he understood it. The intellectual work is not here considered, but to make a Grammar, and a treatise on Logic which the author thought for a moment that an Indian could either read or understand transcends human reason. It was one of those illustrations of religious fanaticism then existing and which culminated a few years later in the Salem witchcraft.

Even as late as 1709, Experience Mayhew, a clergyman of the Established Church in Massachusetts, published his Indian translation of the Massachusetts Psalter and St. John's Gospel. In 1722 this man has the audacity to write that the language of the Indians on Martha's Vineyard had become more uniform with that of the Natick (Mass) Indians, since our Indians had the use of the Bible and other books translated by Mr. Eliot. (Trumbull's extract from a manuscript copy of an unpublished letter, Narr. Club, 1, 68). Conceive for a moment of classes of these barbarians in grammar and logic on Martha's Vineyard. But Mr. Trumbull tells another story. He says, "No account of the aborigines of America; no history of New England or of any of its colonies would remain *tolerably* complete if Roger Williams' contributions were withdrawn from its pages." (Narr. Club, 1, 69).

Again, "The Key does not differ more widely from Eliot's Bible than does the latter from (Mayhew) Massachusetts Psalter and the translation of John's Gospel printed in 1709." (Narr. Club, 1, 69).

Mr. Williams wrote his Key chiefly in the Narragansett Dialect because it was most spoken in New England. He went to some ex-

pense in procuring the means of fixing the pronunciation as the Indian's accented it in speech; the accents, tones, or sounds, being indicated by "acutes, graves, or circumflexes" because as he says "The life of all languages is in the pronunciation. Mr. Williams was the first man to attempt to reproduce in English letters the spoken words of an Indian. The Indian sometimes had two words meaning the same thing and Mr. Williams says so "Copious is their language that they have five or six words for one thing." (Narr. Club, I, 91). The difficulty in thus fixing sounds of speech in the English letters is clearly seen when we consider the tones in speech used by different individuals. But few in these days are competent to do it; these were fewer still in those days. Suppose an educated German was to have spoken one of these words following to those of the English emigrants to New England of those days and those emigrants were to have attempted to write the German sounds into English letters; imagination alone can conceive the result:

Tannenwaldfelseneck. *A rocky place in the pine forest.*

Hochbergerengpass. *A narrow pass of the high mountain.*

Schaltiergestade. *A shell fish beach.*

Aeckergrenze. *The boundary of the field.*

How much easier would it be were it possible for a barbarian Indian to utter in his guttural accents these three words from the Indian Key, to three of these emigrants.

Wunnakukkussaquaum. *You sleep much.* (Narr. Club, I, 108).

Muckquachuckquemese. *A little boy.* (Narr. Club, I, 117).

Cummusquaunamuckqunmanit. *God is angry with you.* (Narr. Club, I, 161).

Aquiepokeshattous. *Do not break the knot of marriage.* (Narr. Club, I, 171).

The exceeding difficulty of putting these Indian pronunciations into English letters is shown by the variety of spelling even the most fixed names. Take the name Miantunnomu as it was written by Williams on the original deed in 1638. There are upwards of twenty-seven spellings of the word in the Rhode Island, or Providence, and in Bradford, and Winthrop's histories.

Wanasquatuckqt as written by Williams appears in more than fifty-one forms.

Mooshausuck, also written by Williams, appears in forty-four forms.

Notaquonckanet, also written by Williams, appears in upwards of sixty forms.

Many of these last named forms are given in a note which appears among the notes following.

The name Narragansett appears in many eccentric forms. Four different forms are given in the historical note which follows, all taken from original manuscripts written at different periods by Roger Williams. I note here two or three forms not given in the note. Nantygansick. (R. I. Hist. Soc. Col. 4, 73). Nanhygansicks. (Same book, p. 123). Narroganset. (Williams' Indian Key, Narr. Club, I, 89).

There seems to be a growing modern fancy of attempting to define the meaning of Indian names of things or localities. Several such definitions have been discussed in the notes which follow.

Specifically Notaquonckanet, Natick, Narragansett, Pascoag, Annawamscutt, Opponaug, Quowatchaug, Popanomscut.

Mr. Trumbull has defined certain Indian names existing in Rhode Island; among them are the following:

Pascoag. Land at the branch, or crotch of the river.

Chepatchet. Place of diversion, or the fork of the river.

Wunnashowatuckkut. At the crotch of the river.

Schaghticoke. As where the river branches.

It so happens that in the regions where these names appear there are streams of water having two branches.

Mr. Trumbull defines Pawtucket as meaning "*at the Fall*". He then says that Pawtuxet is the diminutive of Pawtucket and means "*at the little Fall*."

An aged Indian woman at Stonington in 1679 stated that "the river near Mr. Blackstone's house is called in Indian *Pautuck* and signifies a fall because there the fresh water falls into the salt water." (Potter Early Hist. Narr. 266). The same conditions existed at Pawtuxet.

Mr. Trumbull gives the Indian name of the locality now known as Fall River as being Quequecham, and meaning "it leaps or bounds."

This happens to be just what the small stream does as it falls into the salt water.

Woonsocket is defined by Trumbull as meaning "at the descent" or "below the falls".

Loquassuck, the Louisquisset of our times, is a well known locality even now. Concerning it Mr. Trumbull said, "It is unintelligible and corrupt beyond conjecture of its original Indian origin." It was the section of land which Massasoit claimed west of the Blackstone River above Pawtucket. Mr. W. W. Tooker defines it, first giving its pedigree. He says it means "At the place of meeting". For full particulars, see the note which follows:

From these examples it is clear that only distrust can arise from such translations. The effort seems to be to first learn the character of the place, or some place or thing nearby, and then suggest a definition.

Elaborate methods of defining words by an analysis which cannot be sustained by conclusive logic are much in vogue, but the meaning is reached by finding some natural object near by or by some land mark as an illustration, Notaquonckanet is suggested. It was written in the deed full thirty years before it was referred to as being near a "short bound", and years before the short bounds were fixed, it had existed.

Not only were there many ways of spelling the same name as herein shown, but many things had different names not made different by the spelling. Quonacontaug Pond, lying in Divisions 28 and 29 on the Indian map, was also called Nekeequawese Pond and also Narragunset Pond (Potter's Narragansett 267). In the same divisions was *Teapanock* Pond; it was also called Muxquata Pond. There was also Wecapaug, a brook, called also Wexcodawa.

Misquamicut, the Indian name for what is now Westerly, appears in many different forms, Ascomicutt (Potter's 241), Squamocuck (Potter's 244), Misquomacock, Misquamicoke (Potter's 242).

Mr. Knowles in a foot note in his *Life of Roger Williams* (p. 328) relates an amusing anecdote concerning the difficulty of defining Indian words. While Eliot was engaged in translating the Bible into the Indian language he came to the following passage in Judges 5: 28: "The mother of Sisera looked out at the window and cried

through the lattice", etc. Not knowing an Indian word signifying lattice, he applied to several of the natives, and endeavored to explain to them what a lattice resembled; they gave him a long, barbarian, unpronounceable word, as are most of the words in their language. Some years after, Eliot, when he had learned their dialect more correctly, found that the Indians had given him the true term for eel pot." Mr. Knowles took this from Biglow's Hist. Natick (p. 84).

Prof. Converse Francis cleverly knocks the story to pieces by this, "On turning to the passage in the Indian Bible, I find that the word by which lattice is translated is translated latticeut, a term which undoubtedly is nothing but the English word with an Indian termination" (p. 237). Mr. Francis states that the word is so printed in the first edition of the Bible in 1663, and in the second edition in 1685.

Mr. Trumbull states that "no instance can be shown of the adoption by Indians of a local name from a foreign language." (Potter's Narragansett 409). This was said with reference to the idea that the name Mount Hope was of Icelandic origin, having been used by the Indians since the visit of the Northmen five hundred or six hundred years before. Such an idea was, as Mr. Trumbull declared, ridiculous. There is, I believe, no evidence that the Indians ever knew this mound as Montup.

Doubtless the Indians did adopt English words into their dialects. This can be shown by Mr. Williams' Key, the very highest authority. I will give a few specimens.

*Cuppaimish*, meaning "I will pay." (Key, p. 241).

Mr. Williams says it was a new word made from the English word "pay".

*Shottash*, meaning shot. Mr. Williams says "A word made from us, though their gunnes they have from the French." (Key 200).

*Moneash*. Mr. Williams says: "The Indians are ignorant of European coynes, yet they have given a name to ours, and call it *Moneash* from the English money." (Key 173).

*Chicks*. A cocke, or a hen, "a name taken from the English chicke, because they had no hens before the English came". (Key 73).

The Narragansett Indian had never known of a horse, or an ox, or a cow, or a goat, or a hog, or a pig. They at once invented these

names for these domestic animals: Pigsuck, Hogsuck, Goatesuck, Cowsnuck. But for the horse they spoke the name Naynayoumewot. (Indian Key, Narr. Club, 1, 129). This name was in the singular number, but the preceding names ending in suck were in the plural.

Concerning the termination *suck*, Mr. Williams says, "It is common in this language, and therefore add it to our English cattle not knowing what names to give them." (Key 129).

The Indian name for horse is clearly of imitative origin; they followed the whinney of the animal, using the English word neigh. (Key p. 98).

The Indian name for Geese was *Honck-honckock*. This name like that for horse was of imitative origin. Webster's Dictionary so states the fact in both cases.

The Indian name for Turkeys was *Neyhommauog*. (Key 113). This must have been also imitative.

Concerning these names for domestic animals Mr. Williams calls the animals "English cattle" and says the Indians knew no other name to give them. But on page 127 of the Key, he gives another name, *Netasuog*, which he defines as meaning cattle. The word "cattle" at that time meant chattels, all domestic animals, boys and women, and other things, but "Neat cattle meant cows or oxen and animals of this species. It was thus that the English used it, and the Indians adopted it. (Key 127).

The Indians named the new settlers Englishmanuck, and the Dutch traders, Dutchmanuck. (Key 158).

Writing in 1866, Mr. Trumbull says: "Eliot transfers the English word cows into his Bible. But for young cows, in translating Isaiah 7:21, he (invented) the word Cow-ishinne as being the diminutive.

Eliot did not "transfer" the English word cow into the Indian language and incorporate it into his Bible, as Mr. Trumbull states. It was first used by the Indians themselves and incorporated by Williams into his "Key" in 1643, twenty years before Mr. Eliot used it in his Bible in 1663.

The diminutive of cow cannot necessarily be alone a question of age; a very small cow may be a very aged cow. The diminutive of cow must then necessarily mean a calf, but no Indian philologist has so far suggested such an idea as that cow-ishinne must mean a calf.



The handling of this matter of the diminutive is interesting. Pawtuxet is said to be the diminutive of Pawtucket; but does it stand when the first form of the name is written upon our earliest records Pootatugock? Is Pootatugock also the diminutive of Pawtucket? These considerations illustrate the worthlessness of Indian Grammar, as for instance Eliot's. They also oblige the consideration of Mr. Trumbull's hazardous remark concerning the ignorance of Roger Williams in this matter, to wit, that "it is evident that he had not thoroughly mastered all the anomalies of Indian grammar" (Narr. Club 1, 6). These amusing illustrations confirm the remark of Williams, that "every compound Indian word was a new puzzle". Mr. Trumbull puts it in this form: "He had not given much attention to the polysynthetic structure of this family of languages". How can these gentlemen know more concerning this matter than Roger Williams? Concerning their salutations Mr. Williams wrote: "The natives are of two sorts, as the English are; some more rude and clownish, who are not apt to salute, but upon salutation re-salute lovingly; others, and the generall are sober and grave and yet chearfull in the meane".

Rhode Island is not alone in this matter of torturing Indian names. I will give a specimen for Maine. "This is Wytovitlock—seemingly simple enough, but in everyday affairs a name strangely twisted and tortured. Wytovitlock is a little postoffice in Reed plantation, Aroostook county, and the postmaster up there has kept a record of some of the more remarkable attempts at spelling its name. Here are a few: Whitplock, Winter Pitlock, Widow Padlock, Witter Petlock, Witter Pelog, Whytlock, Wytlock, Witter Pictlock, Wylapitlock, Wypticlock, Witeopitelock, Wittipetlock, Psytolock, Pwytopetlock, Anytopetlock, Flytopetlock, Wytotills, Wyte Pedlock, White Oak Padlock, Wytportetock, Witipidlock, Westapitlock, Whetlock, Wytotillock, Westapitlock, Whetlock, Wytotillock, Mitaplock, Wadotitlocks, Peadlock and Weetopedlock. The place is commonly known among the woodsmen as 'Pitlock.'"

A recent writer thus states the difficulty in these times of attempting to define Indian names: "The Abenaki designations are generally descriptive of the character of the localities to which they were applied—eloquently so, in fact—but the significance of many of them

is not accurately known at this day even to those few persons who have made a careful study of the language, for the corruption of terms, which began even before Henry David Thoreau came to Maine 50 years ago has obscured their original form, in many cases past recognition, and hence the meanings, except where obvious to the scholar and investigator, are often in doubt."

The orthography of the Indian language is wholly the work of the English, and chiefly of the first settlers; but the recorders of deeds and town records have been the great violators. A fine illustration of this fact can be seen by an examination of the 18th volume of the Providence Early Records. The time covered was 1682-1722. I will give a few specimens of common English names from the index of this volume and the numbers of varieties: Jencks, ten varieties, specimen *Juincks*; Hawkins, seven varieties, specimen *Hauknness*; Crawford, twelve varieties, specimen *Cruford*; Ballou, seven varieties, specimen *Bellow*; Aldrich, six varieties, specimen *Allderedge*; Abbot, six varieties, specimen *Abut*; Fenner, seven varieties, specimen *Fenr*. When a recorder, in English, makes such work in spelling English names, what can be expected when he comes to transcribing? The application of names, all being the same to different localities, must have been the work of Englishmen, as, for instance, Causumset; Pocasset; Namquit; Aquidneset, etc., etc. The varieties of orthography, together with a variety in locality, must render etymology extremely difficult and recalls the remark of Dean Trench, "How perilous it is to etymologize at random". This recalls my attempt to locate on the Indian map the locality "Narraqueseade" (Prov. Early Rec. 18, p. 323). In despair I applied to the editor of the volume (Edward Field), who referred to the original document .0397, and informed me that the transcriber was at fault, the words being "narrow passage". Accuracy on my own part is extremely difficult under such conditions.

There are a great many Indian words as now used which grew from intercourse between the English and the Indian. The name Lily, a flower, is one of them. No Indian name was known in the 17th century, but one appears at the end of the 19th century. Roger Williams knew no such word in 1643; John Eliot knew no such word in 1663; nor did John Cotton in 1685, but Josiah Cotton, who was

a son of the latter, early in the 18th century gave the word *Kossepe-shon* as meaning a rose or a lily. A recent compiler applies the name specifically to each, a rose and a lily. It cannot be true. By referring to Eliot's Indian Bible, the first verse of the Song of Solomon, chapter 2 reads, "Nen Shavone rose kat oonouhkoiyene lilie". The King James version reads, "I am the rose of Sharon and the lily of the Valleys". Cotton (John) assisted Elliot. If the Indian dialect contained the word *Kossepe-shon*, and it meant what George T. Paine said it meant, why did they not use it? There can be but little faith in the derivation and meaning of alleged Indian names as it was given at the end of the 19th century.

① Burrillville.  
2 North Smithfield.

14 Woonsocket  
15 East Providence.

# MAP OF THE CITY OF RHODE ISLAND

giving the  
NAMES OF LOCATIONS  
OF GREAT EVENTS IN INDIAN HISTORY  
with  
Political Divisions Indicated  
by  
SIDNEY S. RIDER  
of Rhode Island 1903

Press in the year 1903 by Sidney S. Rider in the Office  
of Congress at Washington



#### THE ACQUISITIONS OF THE INDIAN LANDS

The whole body of the lands now forming the State of Rhode Island, were, in 1636, owned by the Indians then dwelling upon them. They were acquired by the English settlers here first, by direct purchase from the Chief Sachems of these Indian Tribes who were led to sign deeds of the lands; the deeds being always written by the purchaser. The table which follows shows these purchases from 1636 to 1672, giving the localities under the Indian names, how acquired, and who acquired them. But there were large acquisitions of lands which came in other ways. These also have been included in the table, as for instance the Charter of 1663. This charter confirmed the titles in all the deeds of lands given by Chief Sachems. The charter also gave jurisdiction to the colony of Rhode Island of a strip of land three miles wide and extending the entire length of Narragansett Bay, upon the eastern side. Much of this land had been purchased by Newport men, and for that reason, they obtained this jurisdiction. Both Plymouth and the Massachusetts colonies resisted this grant with so much force that it did not become operative until 1746, and then, under a decree of the English King, George the Second. The charter also affirmed the validity of the submission of the Chief Sachems and these lands to the jurisdiction of the English King. This submission was obtained by Samuel Gorton in 1643, and saved Rhode Island from destruction.

The "confirmation" deeds obtained by William Harris in 1659 are also included in the table for the reason that these deeds practically extended the bounds of the first purchase made by Roger Williams in 1636, so as to include all lands north of Shawomet to the present line of Massachusetts and a considerable territory south of the southern line of Shawomet, and west along the present Connecticut line.

For a more elaborate account of these deeds and the results which succeeded them, see Rhode Island Historical Tract, Sec. Ser. No. 4, pp. 72-80.

## ACQUISITIONS FROM THE INDIANS

YEAR.	INDIAN LOCATIONS.	HOW ACQUIRED.	BY WHOM ACQUIRED.	NOTES.
1636	Moghausuck.....	Deed.....	Roger Williams.....	
1637	Chibachewesa.....	Deed.....	Roger Williams and Gov. John Winthrop.	The Islands Prudence and Patience.
	An Island.....	Gift.....	Roger Williams.....	Named "Hope" by Williams.
1637-8	Aquedneck.....	Deed.....	Coddington and his Friends.....	"The Great Island."
1641	Cucumsquussuck.....	Deed.....	Richard Smith.....	
1642	Occupassnetuxet.....	Deed.....	John Greene.....	
1642	Showomet.....	Deed.....	Samuel Gorton and eleven other men...	
1646	Loquasquussuck.....		The thirteen first proprietors.....	Purchase agreed, but deed not signed.
1654	Sekesacut.....	Deed.....	Clements and Holden.	
1654	Potwomut and Aquidneset.....	Deed ..	Ezekiel Holiman. ....	First purchase.
1656	Potowomut and Aquedneset.....	Deed.....	Richard Smith.....	Second purchase.
1657	Aquopimokuck.....	Deed ....	Thomas Gould.....	Now called Gould's Island.
1657	Quinnicut.....	Deed.....	William Coddington and Benedict Arnold.	Now Conanicut.
1657	Pettaquamscut.....	Deed.....	Wilbur—Hull—Porter—Mumford—Wilson.	First purchase.
1658	Aquidneset.....	Deed.....	Benedict Arnold.....	Dutch Island.
1658	Nontusiunk or Nomsismuc.....	Deed.....	Benedict Arnold.....	Now known as Goat Island.
1658	Woonachaset.....	Deed.....	Benedict Arnold.....	Now Coaster's Island.
1658	Chiswenock.....	Deed.....	Richard Smith.....	Now Hog Island.
1659	Namcook.....	Deed.....	Atherton Partners....	Known as Boston Neck.
1659	Wyapumscut and Mascacowage.....	Deed ...	Atherton Partners....	These lands were in the South of East Greenwich, and the Northern part of North Kingston.
1659	Nanequoxet and Sowanoxt.....	Deed.....	Thomas Holden and Samuel Gorton.....	Probably in North Kingston, the latter Fox Island.
1659	Coweset.....	Deed.....	The Town of Providence.....	Purchase advised by Williams.
1659	.....	The three confirmation deeds.....	"Men of Providence and the men of Pawtuxet".....	For an account of this transaction see R. I. Hist. Tract. Sec. No. 4, pp. 72-80.
1659	Pettaquamscut.....	Deed.....	Wilbur—Hull—Porter—Mumford—Wilson.	Second purchase.
1660	Potowomut.....	Deed.....	Richard Smith.....	Third purchase.
1660	Misquamicut.....	Deed.....	Vaughn—Stanton—Fairfield and others.	Deed certified by other Sachems in 1661.
1661	Pettaquamscut.....	Deed.....	Wilbur—Hull—Porter—Mumford—Wilson.	Third purchase, each time extended.
1662	Westotucket.....	Deed.....	Gardner—Stanton....	Caused long trouble, see Potter's Narragansett 67.
1663	The Charter.....			
1664	Quamatucumpic.....	Deed.....	Knight and Hall.....	These four localities were the East, South, West and North bound.
	Chipachuack.....	Deed.....		
	Quowatchaug.....	Deed.....		
	Winnotompic.....	Deed.....		
1665	The Nar'g's'tCountry	By the King's Commission		
1672	Devil's Foot Rock purchase.....	Deed.....	The Colony of Rhode Island.....	It was the King's Province.
1672	Conockonoquit.....		John Greene, Thomas Waterman and others.....	Known as the Fone's purchase.
			Peleg Sanford.....	Rose Island.

In this table, under the year 1637, but with no date attached, is included an island given by Miantinomi to Roger Williams. When it was given we do not know. It first appears in history in 1658 (R. I. Col. Rec. I, 383). But Miantinomi having been murdered in 1643, must have given the island at some earlier date.

The Moshausick purchase was made individually by Roger Williams and the deed runs to Mr. Williams. At the time when the purchase was made there was no man of any pecuniary resource whatever in his company. Two years later several such men had joined the settlement, and Mr. Williams deeded his purchase to the thirteen men known as the First Proprietors.

The first agreement to a transfer of land by these Sachems to Williams was verbal. This verbal transfer covered only "the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers called Mooshausuck and Wanasquatucket". The written deed made different and slightly more extended bounds. It established and confirmed the bounds of these lands "from the river and fields of Pawtuckqut, the Great Hill of Notaquonckanet on the Norwest, and the (Indian) town of Maushapog on the west. The first appearance in any written record of the name Notaquonckanet is in this deed which was written by Roger Williams. There were no limits expressed or fixed by the deed either to width of the meadows or lands conveyed, nor to the extent up streams so far as the two fresh rivers Mooshausuck and Wanasquatucket are concerned. No lands, on what is now the Blackstone River, were conveyed save the fields of Pawtuckqut, and the name Pawtuxet River did not appear until the William Arnold copy of the deed was laid before the Town Meeting early in the year 1658. For these reasons, and for one other material reason, the plantations of the first planters were laid along the banks of these "two fresh rivers". The great material reason referred to was the destruction, by the Indians, of the forests which for ages had covered these banks. The Indians kept them destroyed, and the lands cleared in unconscious preparation for the coming civilization.

The lands upon the great hill Notaquonckanet were not covered by the deed. The hill itself was a bound. The lower lands were gradually acquired by the extension of plantations. These extensions gave great dissatisfaction to the minor Sachems at Pawtuck-



cut, at Notaquonckanet, and at Maushapog. These minor chiefs came constantly complaining. These complaints led the Great Sachems together with Roger Williams to make other, and more specific bounds. This was done by Miantinomi personally and hence the new limits were fixed not later than 1642. These new bounds were peculiar natural objects to which English names were subsequently given. These names were Sugar Loaf Hill, north from Pawtucket and on the right bank of the river, Bewit's Brow, Observation Rock, Absolute Swamp, Ox Ford, and Hipses Rock. (Prov. Early Record 2, 73). The last mentioned bound was directly west from the western base of Notaquonckanet Hill and not more than a fourth of a mile away. This act by Miantinomi was retroactive in its effect upon the lands covered by the deed. It extended the meadows of the Mooshausuck to a point beyond the Blackstone including the fields on both banks at Pawtucket, and it covered all lands upon the summit of Notaquonckanet as far west as Hipses Rock. Thus these lands now being made a park came into possession of the first proprietors of the Plantation of Providence by the act of Miantinomi at some time near 1642.

The two deeds obtained by the Arnolds, the first by Benedict Arnold in 1644, of the Shawomet lands as far as the Pawtuxet river extended, and the second, obtained by William Arnold, of the Meshanticut lands in 1645, are not included in the table for the reason that they were secretly obtained from inferior Sachems and secretly taken with the Sachems to Boston, and there recorded. The purpose of the Arnolds was to throw the Rhode Island lands under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, when these deeds would vest the lands in the Arnolds. But since this event did not take place the lands never vested in the Arnolds.

I now come to the third source of acquisition, to wit, by the extermination of the Narragansett Tribe by the war waged against the tribe by the outside colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, 1675-1676, and waged solely for the purpose of seizing the Indian lands and grasping the jurisdiction. This tribe before the war numbered, according to Brinley (Mass. Hist. Soc. Pub. 1st Ser. 5, 216), thirty thousand, and it could put into the field five thousand armed men. Callendar gives the total number in 1730 as being 985.

With the close of the day, the 2d of July, 1676, not one Narragansett Sachem was left living, and all their lands both title and jurisdiction had fallen to the Colony of Rhode Island. Indian wars ended on the 12th of the month of August following by the death of King Philip. On the 27th of October, 1676, the Rhode Island General Assembly met and assumed jurisdiction over these lands, then of unknown extent. Connecticut and the other colonies were equally determined to acquire them. At the May session, 1677, the General Assembly passed unanimously a resolution to vindicate their jurisdiction unto the Narragansett Country, from the intrusions of the Connecticut Colony (R. I. Col. Rec. 2, 567). During the nine months, October, 1675, to July, 1676, Connecticut troops had ten times invaded the southern lands of Rhode Island, burning and destroying everything with the Anchor and Hope upon it. These expeditions had "driven or forced the inhabitants out of their habitations with the loss of all, or the most parts of their estates; they were necessitated to fly up to this island (Aquidneck) for relief." (Col. Rec. 2, 573). It was the rankest of violations of the Rhode Island and Connecticut charters that it is possible to imagine, but Connecticut was determined to seize all the lands west of the bay. (Col. Rec. 2, 567).

There are other deeds to individuals from individual Indians which are not included in the preceding table. They are not original in the acquisition of the lands of Rhode Island and the jurisdiction thereof.

In exactly thirty-six years from the arrival of William Harris, and William Arnold, and William Carpenter at Providence, at which time the Narragansetts owned all the lands in the State, as now existing, these Indians had lost not only every acre of land, but their lives as well. It is to the everlasting honor of the inhabitants of Rhode Island that force was never used by them in the acquisitions of these lands. Wars had been waged by the Connecticut, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Colonies against the Narragansetts for the sole purpose of acquiring their Rhode Island lands, and while the tribe was destroyed, the lands fell at once under the charter into the Colony of Rhode Island. But there was another way used by the English settlers in obtaining lands from the Indians; it was which might be called the elasticity of the Deeds. No sooner had an Englishman obtained a title than he began stretching his acres

in every direction. An illustration exists in the case of Hipses Rock. It was the *most western* bound of Providence, under the first purchase and set by Miantinomi himself; but in a very few months, after it had been fixed, the English were trading lands with each other a mile west from it. The most curious attempt at a transfer and delivery of these lands of the Indians took place at Pettaquamscut in the spring of 1662. It was by "Turf and Twig". The Atherton partners performed the farce, using a young Sachem, Scuttape. This ignorant Indian was told to act for himself, his brother, and two cousins, having no authority from either, in transferring all the Rhode Island Indian lands to these Atherton partners. He did it, but the transfer never materialized (Fones' Records, 71). This symbolic transfer came from the most ancient European nations. The buyer, in the presence of witnesses, extended his cloak and the seller threw into it a clod of the land which he had sold. From this came the "turf and twig farce". It was brought into England by the Saxons, who considered the delivery of turf necessary to establish the title to land. The English added the verge, or rod, or branch, to it and thus came the turf and twig. What meaning could all this pantomime at Pettacumscut have had with the two hundred Indians then present?

THE  
POLITICAL DIVISIONS  
INTO  
TOWNS AND COUNTIES WHICH FOLLOWED  
THE  
ACQUISITION OF THE  
INDIAN LANDS.



#### POLITICAL DIVISIONS INTO TOWNS AND COUNTIES.

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At its May session, 1677, the General Assembly declared it would "give unto the inhabitants of *this jurisdiction* ten thousand acres of land in the Narragansett, or King's Province, to be equally divided among one hundred (100) men, such as this Court (the General Assembly) shall approve" (Col. Rec. 2, 474). It immediately incorporated the town of East Greenwich, giving Five Thousand Acres, and naming Forty-eight of the men. In 1706 it extended the area of East Greenwich west to the Connecticut line (Digest, 1719, 55). Against the incorporation of East Greenwich, a petition was sent to the King. It was apparently signed by Forty-two of the inhabitants of the country south of East Greenwich, but every signature was written by the same hand. Scrambles for the possession of these vacant lands, which fell into the possession of Rhode Island through the efforts of those colonies which had determined to destroy, became so incessant that the General Assembly, in October, 1707, ordered them surveyed. This was no sooner accomplished than a committee was appointed to examine and report on all "squatter" claims—the claims of "mortgage men"—and of the surviving "Atherton partners" (Col. Rec. 4, 36, 50). This work was concluded in October, 1708, and the committee was directed to proceed to sell the lands. There were not far from 150,000 acres. The first sale was made on the 27th May, 1709, and the last one May 10, 1712. These lands all lay south from the southern line of Showomet, or, as we now call the Showomet lands, Coventry, and Warwick. The present town of West Greenwich and a large part of East Greenwich, the western end was carved out of these lands which came to Rhode Island by virtue of the exertions of Connecticut. Out of the purchase of Moshassuck, which was extended by the Confirmation Deeds of 1659, obtained by William Harris (Rhode Island Hist. Tract 4, Sec. Ser. 73-76) came the towns

Providence, Pawtucket, North Providence, Cranston, Johnston, Scituate, Foster, Smithfield, Glocester, Burrillville, North Smithfield. Lincoln came through a purchase made by Roger Williams, Gregory Dexter, and two others from Ousamequin (Col. Rec. 1, 31, 34). Cumberland came into Rhode Island by the Decree of the King, George the Second. The Maxon, Lewis, Bly, Shannock and Mumford purchases were all made, not from the Indians, but from the colony during the years 1709-1712. Out of these purchases came the political divisions which we now call Hopkinton, Richmond and a large part of Exeter; South Kingston came by the Pettaquamscut; Westerly came by the Misquamicut Deeds; North Kingston came by the Pettaquamscut; the Namcook, the Aquidnesit and the Cawcumsquussuck Deeds; Coventry and Warwick came by the Showomet Deed. By the charter, 1663, came Barrington, Bristol, Warren, Tiverton and Little Compton. This, I think, covers the acquisition of all the Rhode Island lands save only Manisses, which came by the solicitation of its inhabitants and the acceptance by the General Assembly (Col. Rec. 2, 32). A detailed list of the lands sold during the years 1709-1712 by the Colony to sundry individuals was prepared by the late Elisha R. Potter, and published in his *Early History of Narragansett* (214-219). A rudeness of construction and a vagueness in language has often been remarked concerning the Deeds from the Indians. Some Englishman wrote every one of them. No Indian could ever read or understand one of them. The feudal tenure was then the law of England; it was divided, and subdivided, into not fewer than eighty separate and distant tenures. The title by fee simple came a quarter of a century later. Few men in England were then able to own land; and fewer still possessed even an elementary knowledge of the written title to land; the technical, but useless, verbiage of an English Deed would have shattered the mind of an Indian Sachem; it indeed proved too much for the English settlers, and hence arose the vagueness which has been remarked. Mr. Williams has written: "The natives are very exact and punctual in the bounds of their lands, belonging to this or that Prince, or People, even to a river or a brook. I have known them make bargain and sale amongst themselves for a small piece, or quantity of ground." In the light of such a fact, Mr.

Williams notes "a sinful opinion amongst many, that Christians have a right to Heathen lands" (Key to Indian Language, Narr. Club, Ed. 1, 120).

This formation into counties began in June, 1703. The Islands beginning with the Island of Rhode Island and including all the islands were made a county named "Rhode Island County". Newport was the shire town. All the mainland was made into another county named the County of Providence Plantations, Providence being the shire town. In 1729 the Colony was divided into three counties, named respectively Newport, Providence, and Kings. Directly following the Decree of George the Second concerning the lands on the eastern side of Narragansett Bay, Bristol County was formed; and in 1750 Kent County was established; since that time there has been no change. The origin of this last name came from the charter. The tenure of land ran "as of the manor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not in capite, nor by Knight service".

The "confused" condition caused by the Confirmation Deeds, and the destructive work of William Harris and his partners, William Arnold and William Carpenter, which followed, prevented the political or judicial organization of the newly acquired territory. These conditions, followed as they were by the anarchy of 1686-1696, still further postponed this action. In May, 1697, the General Assembly placed the Mashanticut lands under the jurisdiction of the town of Providence, and fixed the southern bounds of this jurisdiction also in Providence on the south branch of the Pawtuxet river (R. I. Col. Rec. 3, 323, 4). Having fixed the southern bounds of the town of Providence, no further action was taken by the General Assembly, and Providence was gradually allowed to assume jurisdiction over this entire tract north, east, and west. This jurisdiction was recognized by the General Assembly by taking lands of the town of Providence in 1730-1 and incorporating Glocester, Scituate, and Smithfield as towns (R. I. Col. Rec. 4, 442).

In June, 1686, the Andros government was established over the King's Province. This was done in violation of the Charter of 1663 and of the Acts of the King's Commission of 1664 in placing the jurisdiction of that country in Rhode Island. A council was



held by the Andros government at Richard Smith's house, near which is now Wickford, and formal seizure of the lands was made. This council consisted of Gov. Dudley of Massachusetts, Edmund Randolph and practically of the Atherton partners. Almost the first act was the re-naming of three of the chief towns then existing in Rhode Island. Kingston was re-named Rochester; Westerly was named Haverham; and Greenwich was named Dedford. Andros was seized by the Massachusetts government in 1689 and sent to England, and Rhode Island resumed her government, and the former names of these towns were resumed. The General Assembly met in February, 1690. It had not been in session in nearly four years, May, 1686, being the last preceding session.

THE  
BOUNDS OF THE PROVIDENCE PURCHASE  
AS FIXED BY  
MIANTINOMI,  
IN PERSON, ABOUT 1642,  
AT LEAST  
FOUR YEARS AFTER THE ORIGINAL DEED  
WAS GIVEN.



#### BOUNDS OF THE PROVIDENCE PURCHASE.

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There are certain English names upon the Indian Map prefixed to this volume which require some explanation; among them are the names, "the River and Fields of Pawtucket; Sugar Loaf Hill; Buitt's Brow; Observation Rock; Absolute Swamp; Ox-foord; and Hipses Rock." These names appear in a paper reproduced in the Early Records of Providence (v. 2, p. 73). The author of the paper is not known. It states that "about 20 years since" four men were appointed to "set our bounds," Chad Browne, Hugh Buitt, Gregory Dexter, and Willi Wickenden. There being no date given to the paper, it is not possible to fix with absolute certainty the time when the names were given. They were given, of course, by the English settlers, but the localities possess great interest, being the natural objects selected by Miantinomi in his own person, as the bounds of the lands covered by the Deed given by Canonicus and himself to Roger Williams. This fact is stated, or perhaps I should say a fact like it was stated, by Williams (Narr. Club 6, p. 390). At what time Miantinomi led Williams and his companions to these bounds we cannot now prove. But it was probably in 1642, and the reason for this opinion lies in the fact that the boundary troubles with William Harris and William Arnold were then just beginning. Miantinomi was murdered in September, 1643. In the document known as "The Combination," or "The Combynatione," which was dated 27th, 5th month (July), 1640, there was an attempt to fix certain bounds. Chad Browne was one of the men who fixed them (Early Records, Providence, v. 15, p. 2). It may have been this agreement to which Williams referred when he wrote, "The truth is that Chad Browne, that Holy man now with God, and myself brought the remaining after comers, and the first monopolizing twelve to a one-ness by arbitration" (R. I. Hist. Tract Soc., Ser. 14, p. 58). Roger Williams makes another reference to these bounds,

styling them "bounds set under the hands of those Great Sachems, Canonicus and Miantinomi" (Narr. Club 6, 329). The precise locality of neither bound is now known. We know, of course, where Pawtucket is, but we do not know the extent of the "river and fields of Pawtucket." It is nevertheless clear that the line began at or near Pawtucket and ended with Hipses Rock. Leaving Pawtucket, or, to be more precise, some point above the "Fields," we come first to "Sugar Loaf Hill". This hill is now unknown. The name is lost in any town in this locality. I venture to suggest that it was the hill at Lonsdale, in Cumberland, which once was the grave of William Blackstone. It was of a sugar loaf form, as every Englishman then living saw and knew it; thence going westerly we come to Buitts Brow." Hugh Buitt had been assigned land along the Moshassuck, hence Buitts Brow must have been one of the overhanging rocks, of which there are many along the river. The same may be said of Observation Rock; but just where it was we do not know. Absolute Swamp may now be some mill reservoir, possibly the one now known as the Wanskuck. Ox-ford was a fording place on the Woonasquatucket river, near Allendale; thence we go to Hipses Rock. This rock is directly west of the hill Notaquanckanet. There was doubtless a cave beneath it when Miantinomi led Chad Brown and Hugh Buitt and Gregory Dexter, and William Wickenden, to it in 1642. This name is so peculiar that I have considered it in a special sketch. When the Indian Deed was written, the bounds were much extended beyond the first verbal agreement. This verbal agreement covered only the "lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers Mooshausuck and Wanasquatucket." By the Deed in 1638, the bounds were extended, and the Sachems "confirm the bounds of these lands from the rivers and fields of Pawtucket; the great hill Neotaconkonitt on the northwest, and the towne of Mashapauge on the (south) west" (Early Rec. 4, 71). The next extension was that of 1642 called subsequently the "Short Bounds," and last came in 1659 the great extension covered by the "Confirmation" Deeds. From the Indian village Mashapauge the lands were quickly absorbed, chiefly by William Arnold and William Harris to the mouth of the Pawtuxet river, where it falls into Narragansett Bay. These six bounds came to be known as "the Short Bounds."

But this was not until after the "Confirmation" Deeds of 1659 had established "Longer Bounds."

The paper to which I have referred at the beginning of this chapter appears in the Prov. Early Records, v. 2, p. 73. It is there called *Salus Populi*. I have said the author is not known. It has been attributed to Thomas Clemence and to Gregory Dexter. It may have been the work of both. There is no date upon the document. It reads, "We declare that our bounds are limited in our Town Evidence (the original Deed) and by us stated about 20 years since, and known to be the river and fields of Pawtucket; Sugar Loafe Hill; Bewit's Brow; Observation Rock; Absolute Swamp; Ox Ford, and Hipses Rock, and the men that were appointed to set it (these bounds) were Chad Browne, Hugh Buitt, Gregory Dexter, and Will Wickenden". The precise date of the paper cannot be fixed; but it was written between 1660 and 1669, probably in 1662. This matter of a date has been more thoroughly considered by the writer in another place (Book Notes, v. 10, 134, 5). The facts here stated are proved by the sworn testimony of William Wickenden in March, 1659 (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. (Harris Papers) 55). Stukely Westcott was the first named in the Deed given by Roger Williams to the thirteen original proprietors in 1638. Westcott also confirmed practically these bounds in open court (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc., Harris Papers, 55). William Harris fought these bounds twenty years after they had been established with all the force of his fiery character (Harris Papers, 93). But he admitted their establishment, in this phrase, written in 1677, "by pretence of Providence litle old bounds" (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. (Harris Papers), v. 10, p. 200).

It is not creditable to those who have hitherto written what has been considered as the history of Rhode Island that they have failed to discover, or have ignored, this remarkable paper, *Salus Populi*. It asserts the bounds of the lands intended to be conveyed by the Sachems' Deed to Roger Williams, given in 1638, and the bounds fixed about 1642, by Miantinomi, in the presence of Chad Browne, Hugh Buitt, Gregory Dexter, William Wickenden, and, I think, Roger Williams. These bounds are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 on the little outline map printed in the succeeding chapter. It was

this small territory which by various acts was divided between the First Thirteen Proprietors and the Men of Pawtuxet, but not divided individually. The men above mentioned were all Proprietors, but not all first proprietors. These two groups of men were at first, personally, precisely the same, but by sundry secret deals became very different. The author of *Salus Populi* practically asserts that to acquire by the "Confirmation" Deeds all the lands covered by numbers 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 on the little outline map above mentioned, and then to "divide to the men of Pawtuxet (practically William Arnold, William Harris, and William Carpenter) twenty miles is hereby declared against, as unjust and unreasonable, not being healthful, but hurtful to the body." And further, "The Acts, Orders, and Records written in ye towne Book" are "so destructive to the common benefit, and peace of this town and being so unreasonable, dishonest, and unlawful, that we cannot according to the rules of common prudence, and humanity, but declare against them" (Prov. Early Rec. 2, 72, 73). These conditions were the results of the work of three or four men, to wit, William Arnold, Benedict Arnold, William Harris, and William Carpenter, beginning with their attempts to get individual possession of the earth by terrible forgeries of the original deed; the alleged "Combynatione" of 1640; the secret Indian Deeds, all recorded at Boston; the fraudulent attempt to antedate the purchase of Showomet, all will be considered in the following chapter on the Forgeries of the Deed by Arnold and Harris. Out of these great crimes covering the period 1638-1675 came all these stories of the quarrelsome character of the people of Rhode Island which have so long burdened New England histories; their obstreperous individuality in religion; their refusal to accept leadership in religion or in any other line; their aversion to the formation of a government, etc. Even in this year Roger Williams has been described as a "Fighter, a Kicker, and a Crank" by a Rhode Island citizen who assumes to write history.







THE  
FORGERIES

BY  
WILLIAM ARNOLD AND WILLIAM HARRIS  
ONE OR BOTH  
IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE ORIGINAL DEED  
GIVEN BY  
CANONICUS AND MIANTINOMI  
TO  
ROGER WILLIAMS



THE FORGERIES OF THE ORIGINAL DEED BY  
ARNOLD AND HARRIS.

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In the autumn of 1890, the writer in the preparation of a series of papers on "The Great Land Conspiracy of the 17th Century in Rhode Island" discovered certain Forgeries in the Sachems' Deed to Williams, as it is now always printed. Certain of these Forgeries were then pointed out (Book Notes, v. 7, p. 158). An under current of talk, by two or three individuals, led the writer to come again to the subject in a more thorough and elaborate manner. This was done in a Historical Tract, bearing this title, "The Forgeries connected with the Deed given by the Sachems Canonicus and Miantinomi to Roger Williams, of the land on which the town of Providence was planted" (Rhode Island Hist. Tract Sec. Ser. No. 4, 1896). This was immediately followed by a paper read before the R. I. Historical Society by Mr. George T. Paine, and printed in a Tract similar to the Tract issued by myself. Mr. Paine attempted to have the members of the Society present at his reading vote in condemnation of my Tract and its researches. This vote was not taken, but Mr. Paine printed his Tract bearing the title, "A Denial of the Charges of Forgery in Connection with the Sachems' Deed to Roger Williams, by George T. Paine, 1896". Mr. Paine became President of the Society and proceeded at once with the publication of the tenth volume of the Collections of the Society. He was President about six months, when death came to him. Since that event this tenth volume has been published. It bears no specific title; but it consists wholly of documents concerning the efforts of William Harris and those interested with him, to wit, William Arnold, William Carpenter, and others, as the "Pawtuxet Partners" in a tremendous conspiracy to secure their individual possession of more than three hundred thousand acres of these Rhode Island lands. In 1897, the Historical Society again loaned itself to the publication of the ancient forgeries, with much matter in detail, in

support of these forgeries. The title of this essay is "The Proprietors of Providence, and their Controversies with the Freeholders, by Henry C. Dorr". Never was there a title more false to the fact than this. The "Controversies with the Free Holders" was neither begun nor prosecuted by the "Proprietors of Providence". These controversies were founded upon forgery, and prosecuted by Harris, Arnold, and Carpenter, and their associates as the "Pawtuxet Partners". Mr. Dorr's essay was severely handled by the writer as to its alleged statements of fact, immediately upon its publication. The writer said: "Never with all my experience with Rhode Island books have I known anything so utterly bad as is this (Mr. Dorr's) book; it might well require a book as large as itself to correct its blunders" (Book Notes, v. 14, p. 206). My views of the purpose of a Historical Society are that it should confine its publication to "Collections," to Documents, or to Records, and never permit men to use its "Collections" as controversial vehicles, as has been the case with Paine and Dorr. These considerations lead me again to affirm these Forgeries, the existence of which can never be disproved; but this time I shall point out the great influence of those Forgeries, in the formation and preservation of the State, from absorption by the surrounding colonies, and necessarily its destruction, by a result directly the reverse of all that Arnold and Harris ever intended. I have introduced a half-tone fac-simile of the original Deed as it now exists in the archives of the city.

This Deed, or "Towne Evidence," as it was called, was first written upon the Town Records in 1662. (Prov. Early Rec. 5, p. 296.) It had for upwards of twenty-four years been lying around in the possession of individuals, the last of whom was William Arnold, who had the brazen audacity to admit that his wife had used it as paper in which to pack garden seeds, in the course of which use rain had *defaced* or torn it. It is written upon the record by Thomas Olney, Jr., the Town Clerk, "after it was defaced". At the time Olney wrote these words he was working with and for Harris, and owned a share as a "Pawtuxet partner". Olney was condemned for his trickery by both Harris and Williams. For the first see (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc., v. 10, p. 53, date 1657). For the last see ( R. I. Hist Tract 14, pp. 25-7).

I reproduce the text of the original Deed of 1638:

Att Nanhiggansick; the 24<sup>th</sup> of the first Month Commonly called March the 2<sup>nd</sup> yeare of our plantation, or planting at Moshosick, or providence,

Memorandum, that wee Caunounicus, & Miantenomu y<sup>e</sup> 2 cheife Sachims of Nanhiggansick having 2 yeares since Sold unto Roger Williams y<sup>e</sup> landes & Meaddowes upon the 2 fresh | Rivers | called Moshosick & wanasquatuckett doe Now by these presentes Establissh, & confirme y<sup>e</sup> boundes of those landes from y<sup>e</sup> River & fieldes of pautu|ckquitt, y<sup>e</sup> great hill of Neotaconckonett on y<sup>e</sup> Norwest, & y<sup>e</sup> Towne of Mashappauge on y<sup>e</sup> West

in wittnesse where of wee have here unto Sett our handes in y<sup>e</sup> presence of

y<sup>e</sup> M<sup>ke</sup> of  Caunounicus

y<sup>e</sup> m<sup>ke</sup>  of Soatash

y<sup>e</sup> m<sup>ke</sup> of  Miantenomu

y<sup>e</sup> m<sup>ke</sup>  of Asotemewitt

M<sup>d</sup> 3 Mont: 9 die this was all againe confirmed by Miantenomu he acknowledged this his act and hand up the Streame of pautuckett and Pautuxett without limmetts we might have for our use of Cattle Wittnesse here of

Roger Williams: Benedict  
Arnold

## THE GENUINE DEED.

It is a strange fact that the original Deed was never printed, in any book in Rhode Island, until 1886, when Charles W. Hopkins printed it in *fac simile* in his "Home Lots in Providence". From this *fac simile* the writer first discovered the Forgeries. In 1894 it was first printed in letter press (Prov. Early Records 5, 296). This Record by Olney, Jr., was either false or it is evidence of Forgery. By referring to the *fac simile*, the word "river" in a handwriting different from that of the Deed appears on the line which begins—

———"In witness where of". In that blank space the word is written. Olney has not reproduced it. If there, he was bound to copy it; not being then there, it was a Forgery. But it is there now, and needs consideration.

By referring to the Arnold Deed, which will presently follow, in this chapter, the word "river" will be seen to be the last word in the clause printed in *italics*, which Arnold interpolated. It was written there to convey the impression that the entire Arnold interpolation was, or had been, in the original Deed, and had been washed out by rain, and Arnold's garden seeds. But the Olney, Jr., record made in 1662, four years after Arnold had exhibited his forgery, disproves that theory. The word "river" was not then upon the original Deed. Arnold did not leave for record, but merely exhibited at a town meeting his forgery in 1659. He kept it in his own possession, by which means few could know or consider its construction. It was not entered upon the Providence Records until October, 1705 (Prov. Early Rec. 4, p. 70). It is a good illustration of the chronological construction of these Records. The original Deed, recorded forty-three years before this Forgery, was printed in a volume *following* the volume in which the Forged Deed was printed.

I have shown that the word "river" was a forgery, and it was done with a most malicious purpose. Upon the Arnold Deed appears preceding the memorandum at the bottom these words and figures—"1639 memorandum 3 month 9 day". By reference to the *fac simile* there is no date, and the words are "Md 3 mon. 9 die". The date is a forgery, and done with a most carefully planned and most malicious purpose. This purpose I will set forth presently.

Two names are attached to this memorandum, Benedict Arnold and Roger Williams. Benedict Arnold denies that he wrote his name "in the paper where ye Evidence of Providence is" (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. (the Harris Papers), v. 10, p. 56). Roger Williams also denies the genuineness of his name, "One amongst us, *not I*, recorded a testimony, or memorandum," etc. Thus both names signed to the memorandum were Forgeries.

But the great Forgery by Arnold in this Deed consisted in the words printed in *italics*. These words will not be found in the

original Deed. But, notwithstanding this fact, Olney begins his record with the words, "A true copy". Let the reader refer to the Olney record of 1662 and see for himself whether Arnold's language can be found in the record. Either the Olney record of 1662 is false or the recorder, Olney, of 1705 lies. *His* copy is not a true copy of the Town Evidence.

In the Providence Early Records, v. 4, p. 70, is recorded the Arnold Deed. It is preceded by a record dated 1704 and followed by a record dated 1705. It begins, "The seventh of the Twelwe month 1658 (7th February, 1659) at our Towne Court William Arnold of Pautuxet came into this presant Court and did acknowledge that those two coppies (to witt) of William Harrises, and Thomas Olneys which hath these words in them as followeth, are the true words of that writeing called the Towne Evidence of Providence; and that which wanting in the now writeing called the Towne Evidence which agreeth not with those two coppies was torne by accident in his House at Pautuxet."

There is no means of showing that any "Towne Court" was held on the 7th of the 12th month, 1659, and that, on trat day, this Deed was shown. The Providence Early Records, v. 3, pp. 110-112, show no such exhibition. It must be observed that the statement by Arnold, that his transcript of the Deed was made from copies of the original Deed held by William Harris and Thomas Olney, and that these three men were engaged at that moment in a huge conspiracy to gain individual private ownership of nearly one-half of Rhode Island, as it now exists.


Immediately following the time (1658) of this supposed exhibition, but not the recording of the Arnold Forgery, three (3) Deeds were obtained by William Harris from the "most potent princes" then living and in possession of these lands. Harris's purpose was to have these Sachems "confirm the Arnold forgery by making their mark beneath a writing, by Harris, which they could not read nor understand. These deeds were alike in one respect as to tenor. The Sachems confirmed the sale by Canonibus and Miantinomi, but the Sachems did not know that Harris had fixed in these Deeds "boundless bounds". "As far as the men of Providence




Here follows the Forged Deed as it was recorded in 1705: :


Att Nanhiggansick, The 24<sup>th</sup> of the first Month Commonly called March in the second yeare of our plantation, or planting at Moshausick, or Providence.

Memorandum, That wee Caunanicusse and Meiauantunnomu the two chiefe Sachims of Nanheggansuck, having Two yeares since sold unto Roger Williams the lands & meaddowes upon the two fresh Rivers called mowshausuck & wanasquatuckett, doe now by these presents Establish & Confirme the bounds of those lands from the Rivers & ffields of Pautuckett, The great hill of Neotakonkonnitt on the norwest and the towne of Mashapauge on the west. *As also in Consideration of the many Kindneses & services he hath continually done for us both with our friends of Massachusett, as also at Quinititicut, And Apaum or Plimouth, wee doe freely Give unto him all that land from those Rivers Reaching to Pautuxett River, as also the Grasse & meaddowes upon Pautuxett River,* In witness where of wee have hereunto set our hands in the presence of

The marke  Caunanicusse  
of

The marke of  Melantenomu

The mark of  Soatash

The marke of  Assotemewett

1639, Memorandum. 3. month. 9. day This was all againe confirmed by Miantenomu he acknowledged this his act and hand up the streame of Pautuckett & Pautuxett without limmets wee might have for our use of Cattell.

wittnes here of

Roger williams  
Benedict Arnold./

and the men of Pautuxet shall judge convenient" was the bound in the third deed (R. I. Hist. Tract, Sec. Ser. 4, p. 75). I reproduce the deed signed by Caujonaquond:

Providence the 3 month, 29 day j659:

This be knowe: to all that it May concerne in all ages to Come .\*

That I Caujaniquanet Sachim of the Nanhiggansick; Rattefie and confirme to the Men of providence and the men of pautuxett theire landes and deede that My Brother Meantnomeah, Made over and Signed: | to them | Namly all the landes betweene pautuckett River and pautuxett River up the Streames Without limittes for their use of Cattle, as I also doe for Sumer and Winter feeding of theire Cattle; and plowing and all other Nessesarey Improve-ment, as for farmes, and all Manner of plantation whatso Ever; This Land I Say abovesaid I confirme to the aforsaid Men at this presant, Twenty full Miles, begining to Measure from a hill Called ffoxes hill, upon A Straight line running up into the Contrey betweene pautuckett and pautuxett River; This Land and the ap-purtenances I here by Confirme to them theire heirs And Assignes for Ever: And that my heirs And Assignes, Shall not Molest them nor theire Assignes for Ever, in any of the Landes Above Said; And that I am alway ready to defend theire Title from the Claime of any Indians whatso Ever; in wittnesse whereof I hereto Sett my hand."

The signature to this deed was witnessed by Nathaniel Waterman and Andrew Harris. Waterman was engaged in the conspiracy and Andrew Harris was a son of William Harris, the chief conspirator. John Sayles swore that he witnessed the signing of the Deed, and that "the contents of the said Deed was fullye opened to the said Quojaniquond, and made very playne to his understanding." This must have been done by those engaged in the conspiracy, for no others were present.

Read what Roger Williams, writing in 1669, said of Caujonaquond's confirmation: "Is not this notoriously known that W. Harris urged that poor beast (always drunk), Kachanaquond, and other Sachems after him, to confirm *only* what Miantinomi had granted to R. Williams, which was under the Sachems' hands; they not imagining any such juggling to be intended by Englishmen,

who called themselves children of God, and Christians; and that any *boundless* grants were comprized. They were easily willing, especially for Wompan's sake, to confirm what was granted to Roger Williams by Miantinomi, dead and gone, as knowing that the bounds were known to themselves and the natives roundabout us". Again, "It is no less prodigious and wonderful to me how they can squeeze out a confirmation from the surviving Sachems of what Miantinomi, only one Sachem, and less (in power) than Canonicus have granted. I say squeeze a confirmation of what had no reality, no more than dreams, and castles built in the air" (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 14, pp. 31, 32). Again, "This *after* purchase and Satisfaction (payment) to all claimers W. Harris puts a *rotten title* upon it, and calls it Confirmation of the title and grant of up streams without limit; but all the Sachems and Indians when they heard such interpretation cried commootin, commootin" (Narr. Club 6, 391). This Indian word meant stealing and lying—see note by Trumbull in the Indian Key (Narr. Club 1, 165); also a note by Trumbull (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 14, p. 31).

The three "Confirmation" Deeds were obtained in May, August and December, 1659; but they were all held by William Harris until 1662, when they were entered upon the records; and upon the same day Olney recorded the original Deed, as I have before stated, April 4, 1662 (Providence Early Records 5, 296). Directly following Olney's Record of Kacharaquond's Deed this "juggling" Town Clerk, as Harris describes him (Hist. Soc. Coll. 10, p. 53), made a statement as an "assistant," which office he held being so designated in the charter, and recorded it as a Town Clerk—but did not swear to it that "Quojaniquond came before me, this 7th of July 1664, and did acknowledge and confesse that he hath received of the men of Providence, and the men of Pautuxet Nine pounds Tenn shillings for the land specified in this Deed and his hand or marke being showed him he did own it to be his act and deede. This was made known to me (Olney) from him by an interpreter upon his ingagement the day and year above written" (Prov. Early Rec. 5, 299). Olney, as I have written, was a "Pawtuxet Partner" at the time, and interested in the conspiracy, but neither Harris nor Roger Williams had confidence in him. His

statements, nor the Interpreter's, bear neither oaths nor affirmations, and they were made five (5) years after the Deed of Cojonoquand was said to have been executed, and two years after the Deed was recorded. It was a good specimen of Olney's trickery.

Thus the Forged Deed had no sooner been conceived and executed than half a dozen of the chief Sachems were asked to confirm what they were told was the Deed of Canonicus and Miantinomi to Roger Williams. This fact is confirmed by the sworn testimony of John Sayles (Prov. Early Rec. 5, 298). But not one of them had the slightest idea that they were transferring more than one-half of the lands in the present State. I give a specimen of the scope of the transfers. The first is from Kachanaquond's Deed. It conveyed the lands up the Pawtucket river and the Pawtuxet river *without limit*, full twenty miles, from Fox's hill, upon a straight line, running up into the country between these two rivers; again, another confirmation, "We ratify and confirm to the men of Providence and Pawtuxet their lands according to *their joint agreements* which our brother Meantenomeah possessed with them; that is, all the lands between Pawtucket and Pawtuxet, between the streams of these rivers, and up these streams without limits; *or as far as they shall think fit.*" Another, Scuttape, confirmed all that he was asked to confirm; and still further, that when, in 1636, Roger Williams made his contract with Canonicus and Miantinomi he *acted as agent for the men of Providence, and the men of Pawtuxet*" (Prov. Early Rec. 5, 304). There were at the time when Williams bought these lands no men of Providence, nor men of Pawtuxet. Neither place had an inhabitant. So much is the value of these Indian Confirmations of documents, not one word of which could they read.

These boundary clauses explain the force of Mr. Williams's language, "Up stream without limit"; "Bounds without bounds"; "Boundless bounds"; "Boundless grants". These all refer to Harris's language in the "Confirmation Deeds, "Between the streams of these rivers, and up these streams without limits, or as far as they (the men of Providence and the men of Pawtuxet) shall think fit"; again, "As far as the men of Providence, and the men of Pawtuxet shall judge convenient"; again, "All lands between Pawtucket river, and Pawtuxet river up stream without limit". In

considering these bounds and these confirmations we must not forget that the term "up streams without limit" came from the Forged memorandum attached to the bottom of the original Deed; but which formed no part of the Deed itself.

It remains to connect these transactions with the original Deed and certain transactions which followed it.

The first thing done was by Roger Williams in giving a Deed to twelve of the principal men, himself retaining one share, the lands which he had individually purchased from the Great Sachems. This Deed came first to be known as the "initial" Deed, because Mr. Williams used only the initials of the names of the men to whom the Deed was given, thus, S. W., W. A., T. J., etc., for Stukeley Westcott; William Arnold; Thomas James, etc. (Staples's Annals, 28). Twenty-eight years later Mr. Williams was forced by the Pawtuxet partners to write a more specific Deed. This he did in 1666 (Staples's Annals, 33).

No care was taken of this "Initial" Deed. It was soon lost and no Record remains. In 1661 William Arnold and other men then engaged in this land conspiracy made what *they said* was a copy of this Deed (Prov. Early Rec. 15, p. 86). The date given by Staples at the beginning of this Deed (Annals, 33), "8 of 8th month 1638", is pure guesswork, and Mr. Williams so states the fact (Annals, pp. 33, 34). The William Arnold copy, having not the slightest legal force, is now upon the Records, as above stated. The late Judge Staples writes this paragraph: "After accepting the '*Initial*' Deed on the 7th October, 1638, the thirteen proprietors deemed it expedient to make a *division in their purchase*, and subject the different parts to different rules of subsequent sub-division. The two parts are known in the Records as the 'Grand purchase of Providence' and the 'Pawtuxet purchase'. Great dissensions and difficulties grew out of this division" (Annals of Providence, 34). Mr. Staples founds this statement upon a supposed "agreement" made "between several inhabitants of the town of Providence" (Prov. Early Records, 15, 31). This agreement reads thus: "It is agreed this day (eight of the eight month 1638) that all the meddow ground at *Patuxett* bounding upon the fresh river on both sides is to be *impropriated* unto these 13 persons now incorporated

together in *our town* of Providence" (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 31). Then follows the name of the twelve men to whom Roger Williams gave a Deed of his purchase, and his own name included. The agreement further provided that Roger Williams was to have twenty pounds, the money to be paid to him by the thirteen first proprietors, himself being one.

The word "impropriation" is not among the English land tenures of the time. It is now obsolete; but then it meant "to convert to private use, to seize for one's own use"—"as when a layman is possessed of a church living, and converts the profits to his own private use" (Bailey's Dict. 1725). There was no purchase, neither from the Indians nor from Williams. Nor was there a division of the Williams purchase. It was neither more nor less than a seizure of lands held by the Indians; but it covered *only* the meadow ground at *Pawtuxet*. It did not extend "up streams without limits". Concerning this transaction Mr. Williams says: "Pawtuxet I parted with at a small addition to Providence, for then that monstrous bound or business of upstreams without limits was not thought of. Wm. Harris and the first 12 of Providence were restless for Pawtuxet, and I parted with it upon the same terms, viz, for the supply of the destitute, and I had a loan of them, then dear," etc. (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 14, p. 55). Harris was the leader in this "impropriation," and upon it rests all his claims to the lands interpolated by himself and Arnold into the original Deed.

The coming to Providence of William Arnold and his son, Benedict Arnold, with their intense passion for the possession of the earth, and the natural control which such possession gave them over other men, caused immediate discontent among the first planters. William Harris and William Carpenter at once joined the Arnolds, and a long and bitter fight followed as long as the Arnolds and Harris lived. Out of this land passion in the Arnolds and Harris came the transfer of Pawtuxet, as above stated by Mr. Williams; or its seizure by "impropriation."

We now come to the "Combynatione," and it becomes necessary to examine with care this extraordinary paper. It was recorded only on the Suffolk Records at Boston; this was done in pursuance of the treachery of the Arnolds. A *copy* of it is among the ancient

town papers and has been recently printed (Prov. Early Records 15, p. 2). The record at Boston was made in 1650. There were then no signatures upon it, nor any certification of authenticity, nor of adoption. The *copy* now in the possession of the city of Providence must have been privately made by Olney from one in the possession of Harris, and left among the town papers where it remained hidden for nearly two centuries.

In the month before the obtaining of the first of the "Confirmation" Deeds, a letter was addressed "To the Town meeting, Prov. the 27th of 2, m, 1659," signed by William Field; William Arnold, and William Harris. These men inform the Town Meeting, provided the letter was ever sent, that "We have fixed or sett a marke stone neer the spring at Saxafrag cove, according to ye prescription of ye place in ye Combynatione. This we say we are redey to rattefy, & stand to our hands in ye combynatione. If our neighbours object, we are ready to choose an Vmpeor to sett it". These men further say that "Ye Combynation being in your hands that you would send it" by, or with the Vmpeor (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 76).

When Harris said "the Combination being in your hands," he had doubtless had Olney, the "juggling" Town Clerk at that time, make the "copy" which is now existing at the City Hall.

Five years later another similar letter was sent, dated 27th January, 1664. It was signed by William Field, Zachary Rhodes, Richard Waterman, his X mark, William Carpenter, and last, as was usual, William Harris. Every one was engaged in the land conspiracy. These men say: "Again this (second time) requeste you that you would come to *Adebitone* of ye land (called in ye Combynatione ye propriettyes of ye men of Patuxcet) from ye Generall Comone of ye Towne of Providence" (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 105). There is no mention of this Combynatione in the Records. But a copy of it, purported to have been made by Thomas Olney, Jr., "as it standeth upon Record," appears among the miscellaneous papers and is printed (Prov. Early Records 15, p. 22). If the original existed upon the Records, why make this Olney copy? Certainly under such conditions the Town Clerk could not give it legal force, with nothing to show that the town meeting had ever

acted upon it, nor had the inhabitants or land holders so acted,—by their act alone could it be valid.

The importance of this evidence in the matter of establishing a line of division induces me to investigate it with whatever of force I am competent. It is destructive to the "Denial" of the Forgery of the Deed.

From 1640 until the death of William Harris (in London, in 1681,) there was a continuous struggle by Harris and his partners for the establishment of a Division line between the owners of Pawtuxet and the owners of Providence. On the map recently published by the Historical Society (Hist. Coll., v. 10, p. 376) is laid down this "Division Line of 1640". This rests upon the *Combination* which purports to have been presented to the town of Providence at that time. There exists no evidence that it was so presented. It was never entered upon the records of Providence, but it was entered upon the records at Boston about 1650, elsewhere described herein. The people never acted upon nor accepted this "Combination", which has been so much lauded heretofore. And of course no Division Line was then adopted. Nothing was heard of the *Combination* until three of the four men who are stated in it, to have made it, were dead. William Harris was the only living man stated in it to have been connected with it (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 2). On the 22d of ye 2 mo 1659, a letter was written by William Harris, William Arnold and William Field to the town of Providence, stating that *we have set* a mark stone, at Saxafrag Cove, to an oak at Mashapaug, according to ye prescription of the place in ye *Combination*. These men asked that if "our neighbors object", that they choose an Vmpeor. This is evidence that no line had been fixed by the *Combination* in 1640 (Early Rec. 15, 76) down to the year 1659. What power had these three men to fix a division line? They admit that they had no power, by the suggestion of an Vmpeor. In 1664 Harris with some of his partners repeated the operation. This is evidence that nothing had been done down to that time. In 1677 Harris brought suit against Dexter, Fenner, and ye towne of Providence. Harris was not alone in this action, but the only person named as acting with him was Thomas Field. In their Declaration the plaintiffs say: "It is for the jury to say whether ye said



town of Providence should not run ye said line *agreed on by us* for a partition," etc. (Col. R. I. Hist. Soc., v. 10, p. 202). This is evidence that no line had ever been accepted nor adopted by the town in 1640, nor down to 1677, and this suit failing, no line then followed the action of the jury. Notwithstanding this positively conclusive evidence, George T. Paine says: "In 1640 a division line between 'this special tract' and the town of Providence was agreed upon" (Paine's Denials, p. 68); and this, Mr. Brigham has followed on his map in the Harris papers (Col. R. I. Hist. Soc. 10, p. 376). But this line on the Brigham map is entirely in error. The line mentioned in the "*Combination*" ran from a spring, being in a gully, at the head of a cuave, running in by a point of land called Saxefrax, into the Town of Mashapauge". It cannot be shown that there was any brook known as Mashapaug in 1640 existing there; nor can it be shown that the Indian town of Mashapaug was at the western end of the Brigham line. Mr. Brigham followed Paine.

This Olney copy of the "*Combination*" bears the date 27th of the 5th month in the year *so called* 1640. The "*so called*" was put in by Olney as a suggestion that Roger Williams had a hand in the writing—he being the only man then living who used that language. The document itself says that "Wee Robert Coles; Chad Brown; William Harris and John Warner, being freely chosen by the consent of our loving ffreindes," made the Combination. The second paragraph is in these words: "Wee have with one consent agreed, that in parting those particular proprietyes, which some of our friends and neighbours have in Pautuxett, from the General Comon of the Town of Providence, to runn upon a straight line from a fresh spring, being in the gully, at the head of the coave running in by the poynt of land called Saxeffrax, unto the Towne of Mashapauge to an oake tree standing neere unto the corne field, being at this tyme the nearest corne field unto Pawtuxett" (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 2).

This Olney copy bears the names of thirty-nine persons, all written upon it by Olney. No real signatures were ever known, and Olney's copy was made on the 28th March, 1662—twenty-two years after the document purports to have been written. The scheme was to establish a line running from Sassafra point to

the Indian town of Mashapaug—all lands west of this line were to belong to the Pawtuxet Proprietors; all lands east of the line to belong to the Providence Proprietors; both Proprietors being at the time the same men. It was the possibility of a westward extension that suggested the Forgeries in the Deed. The two letters from William Harris and his partners, 27, of ye 2 mo. 1659, and 24 January, 1664, show positively that the proposition in the Combynatione to which Harris referred had not been accepted by the town in 1640; not a signature was upon it in 1650. These letters also prove that the people of the town had not accepted the Combination down to 1664-5. Nor did the people ever accept the line proposed in it by Harris. He soon began suits in New England, and subsequently in England, to force the Providence people to fix the line, which, being done, all lands west of the line would be owned by the men who owned the Pawtuxet shares. In case these Pawtuxet owners could show that all the lands in Rhode Island west of their desired line were included in the original Deed to Williams, then these lands would belong to these men individually who owned rights in the Pawtuxet purchase. For this the Forged Deed presented by Arnold in 1659 was made. For this were secured the three Deeds "confirming" the grant to Williams and extending this grant from twenty to thirty miles west, northwest, and southwest, by four, or five, ignorant Sachems who had been most treacherously deceived. The real purpose of the "Combynation" was first to fix a line of separation midway between Providence and Pawtuxet; second, to establish a land tenure in individuals and in perpetuity. The Combynation was never accepted, but William Arnold, in 1640, bought land of William Harris and took his deed for it. There is no record of an appointment of Harris, Cole, Brown and Warner as a committee to make such a report. At the time, in 1659, when Harris and Field in a letter called the town meeting's attention to it, Harris was the only living member of the four who are represented in it as being the authors of it. Brown died in 1650; Warner died in 1654; Cole died in 1655, and Harris alone remained.

The recently published volume (10th) of the R. I. Historical Society contains an "Indian Deed to Harris 3 April, 1657" (page

48). It was printed "From a copy by George T. Paine". Mr. Paine did not inform us where the original existed. At present it is not known. It is not signed, and hence is not a Deed, but merely the form of a Deed; but it is quite as effective for my present use, as it would be had it been signed. There are attached to it the signatures of two men, Thomas Harris and John Sayles, certifying that the Deed was "Signed and Delivered in the presence of us". This was a convenience invented by William Harris, who must have written the Document; it saved him the trouble of actually bringing the Indians who were to sign and the witnesses together. This document is most important in establishing the Forgery of the Arnold Deed, and of Harris's knowledge of the Forgery; it admits the bounds fixed by Miantinomi in, or about, 1642, Sugar Loaf Hill and Hipses rock, etc.; it makes these two unknown Indians confirm this act; and lastly it contains this ridiculous language, "Allsoe we assent to, and confirme, the act of seale that Canonacoe made to Roger Williams *for* the thirteen purchasers".

How could these unknown and ignorant Indians *affirm* that Roger Williams bought from Conanicus and Miantinomi lands in 1636-7 "for the thirteen purchasers"? There were not, at the time, but seven persons, not all of these men, in the entire company.

Again, Mr. Harris writes: "These bear witness that I, Moscompowes; and I, Twopowes, assent to the acts of Myantenomye to the thirteen (13) men." The only acts of Miantinomi *alone*, in any of these land transactions, were the fixing *in his own person* the bounds of the lands conveyed to Williams by himself (Miantinomi) and Canonicus, these bounds being "Sugar Loaf Hill to Hipses Rock," etc., and the Deed of Showomet; but the latter Deed ran to eleven, but not to thirteen men. Hence Harris admits the bounds by Miantinomi in 1642, and attempted to use these Indians in confirmation of them. Again, he admits them. Harris makes these Indians say, "We sell and confirm to William Harris that right of ours, namely, two of the thirteen parts in all the said lands up the streame of Pautucksette river, about miles more or less, *to the side of Providence lands on the north*; and, or, one *any other point*" (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. 10, p. 48). The line of the Providence lands *on the north* and extend-

ing west would touch Wionkeige Hill. Harris admits knowledge of their existence in 1657. He again admits knowledge of their existence, in 1677, by this language: "Mr. Dexter and Capt. Fenner are, and have been, very active and underhand another design for by pretence of Providence *little old bounds, much stood upon*, wherein Gregory Dexter could not in his understanding against jurisdiction, by the same, claim his land; his due would by force, if he could overthrow that title for a worce, but bigar." (Col. R. I. Hist. Soc., 10 (Harris Papers), 200.) This shows that Harris knew these ancient bounds when he assisted in the Forgery of the Deed. Had Harris succeeded in his claims, both Arthur Fenner and Gregory Dexter would have lost the titles, whatever their value, which they then held. The Arnold Forged Deed denied, in effect, their existence in 1658. Again, how could these two unknown Indians have ever bought "two of the thirteen parts"? The duplicity of William Harris is clear and absolute. Of what force is Paine's Denial of the Forgery in the face of this document, which but for his "foresight" in copying and printing it we might never have known? It convicts Harris of a guilty knowledge. But Paine admits the Forgery thus, "As the date 1639 appears on both the 1658 and 1662 records of the Town Evidence, and is not to be found on the *original paper*, this is called a forgery and possibly may be so considered" (Paine's Denial, p. 56); again, "As to the statement that Benedict Arnold in a case tried forty years after the writing of the clause denied his signature, no quotation of the words by Arnold is given, nor a copy of the paper presented, we ought not to be thus asked to accept this as a forgery without some authority" (Paine's Denial, p. 54). By a singular fatality Mr. Paine has himself supplied me with the evidence. "Mr. Benedict Arnold upon his engagement saith ye name subscribed in the paper where the Evidence of Providence (original Deed) is, was not his hand wrighteing" (Col. R. I. Hist. Soc. 10, p. 56). Mr. Paine admits the Treachery of Arnold (Denial, pp. 28-39). Concerning the first paragraph above, Paine says, "The date 1639 appears on both the 1658 and 1662 records". There was *no 1658 record*, nor does the date 1639 appears on the 1662 record. These are fair specimens of Paine's statements of facts. Inadequacy in

the use of language prevents me from a proper characterization of these transactions. Roger Williams shall assist me, for besides being a clear and pungent writer, he was an eye witness of what was said and done.

"If all be divulged, that may be produced and proved, there was hardly ever in New England, W. Harris his equal for monstrous evils in land business," written by Mr. Williams in 1669 under the full light of these terrible iniquities (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 14, p. 41). *Again*, "His covetous and ambitious ends so taken notice of, and cried out on, by the barbarians for such monstrous cheating and stealing of their countrey" (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 14, p. 44). *Again*, "His monstrous Diana, up streams without limits so that he might *antedate* and prevent, as he speaks, the blades of Warwick" (Narr. Club 6, p. 392). Mr. Williams here means that by dividing the lands into the Providence and Pawtuxet divisions in 1638, and the forgery of the date 1639, to the memorandum; and the forgery of the names Roger Williams and Benedict Arnold to the memorandum at the bottom of the Deed; and by the pretended "Combination" line of 1640, Harris and Arnold had attempted to antedate Gorton and Greene in the Showomet and Occupasnetuxet purchases, both having been made in 1642.

There is further evidence that Arnold was scheming to get possession of the Showomet lands by a fraudulent transfer. On the 9th October, 1645, Arnold placed on record in Boston a pretended Deed of lands from Socononoco to himself (W. Arnold) and Robert Cole, and William Carpenter of lands lying on and between the rivers Pawtuxet, Pocasset and Wanasquatucket. The last line of this Deed reads: "This was by an absolute Deed dated 30 (11) 1641". The plain purpose of Arnold was to antedate the Gorton purchase, the Deed of which was dated 12th January, 1642. Arnold's Deed was never recorded in Providence, and was to be effective after the Arnolds had thrown the Colony into the possession of Massachusetts. This Arnold Deed is a sham from start to finish and is well worth study (Suffolk Deeds, Boston 1, 63). The adroitness of Arnold's work in the fixing of this date will appear when it is known that while antedating the Gorton purchase of

Showomet, it saved to John Greene his individual purchase of Occupussnatuxet. Greene was a Showomet owner, hence Arnold's purpose was to weaken Greene's opposition to his purpose. This matter has been carefully considered by the present writer in another place (Book Notes 5, 70).

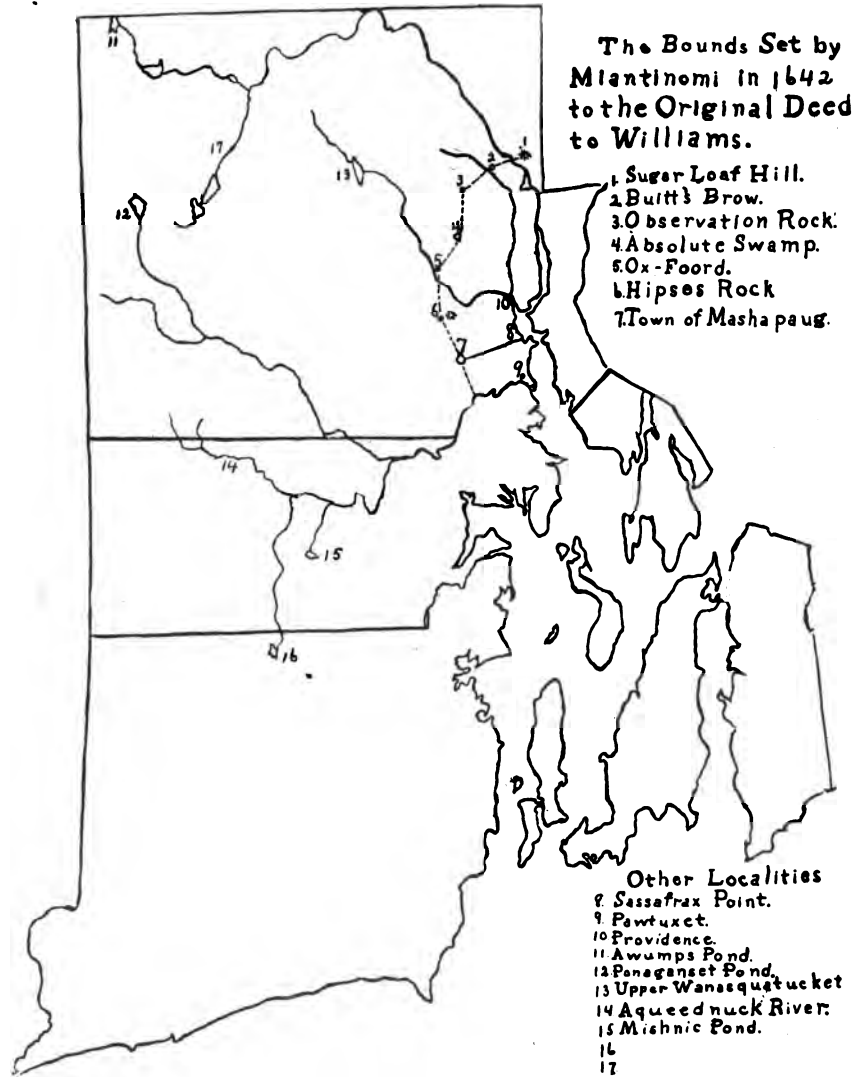
The "monstrous Diana" refers to a fabled goddess of the most ancient Greeks, who, like Feronia of the Italians, was looked upon as the goddess of the "lower world," otherwise Hades; but while on the surface of the earth loved to dwell in groves and along the streams, and in the spring of running waters. The "Blades" of Warwick may be defined as "brisk, mettlesome, sharp, keen, active young men (Wright's Provincial Dicty.). Again, concerning this memorandum at the bottom of the Deed, Mr. Williams says: "After Miantinomi had set our bounds in his own person (about 1642) one amongst us recorded a memorandum of a courtesy added upon request (to these bounds) by Miantinomi; *it had no date*, nor the Sachems' knowledge, nor hand, nor witnesses" (Narr. Club 6, 387). What was that but a rank forgery.

Again, concerning the extent of his purchase, Mr. Williams says: "By the Sachems' grant to me, of an abundant sufficiency to myself and my friends; for those were the terms; and in reason cannot be imagined otherwise, I never understood infinite and boundless matters; no nor twenty miles; but what was of realty counted sufficient for any plantation, or town in the country."

"As to Warwicks 20 mile I even tooke it to be a mistake, like other grand mistakes betweene ye English and ye natives. If it were so, & true at Warwick yet. As I said before, the Sachems and myself never intended such vast and monstrous business; but what was usually allowed to the biggest towns in New England" (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 14, p. 30).

Again, "W. Harris hath robbed us, even by a kind of force, ever since the first birth of the towne, \* \* but to this day (1669) both our towns (Providence and Warwick) and myself have been notoriously abused and robbed of that which is yours, and ought to be in your Records" (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 4, p. 14).

U.S. M.



This little outline map of Rhode Island is introduced to give ocular demonstration of the stake for which William Harris and William Arnold, or the "Pawtuxet partners," were playing. The

W.H.A.

points numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 are the bounds set by Miantinomi in his own person in 1642, and knowledge of which is acknowledged by both William Harris and Roger Williams, as has been herein shown. No. 7 represents the town of Mashapaug as it stands in the manuscript of the original Deed. From No. 7 the line has been carried to the Pawtuxet river; the reason for this is that these lands had been occupied by Harris and by Arnold. We cannot show the area of the Indian town Mashapaug; but we do know that these lands were "impropriated" by the thirteen first proprietors, or by twelve of them, in 1638. No. 9 is the Falls of the Pawtuxet. No. 8 is Saxafrax point, with the line extending from it to the Indian town Mashapaug, which Harris labored from 1640 until his death to have fixed by the people, and they refusing by the outside colonial courts. No. 10 is the town of Providence. No. 6 stands for Hipses rock and the Hill Notaquonckanet; the latter name stands in the original Deed. The remaining numbers, to wit, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, represent the utmost limits north, west, and south, fixed by Arnold and Harris in the Deed presented by them to the town government in 1658—the Forged Deed. These points cover the entire State as it now exists, north and west, and as far south as No. 16. This represents an artificial pond on the estate now owned by Stephen O. Metcalf in Exeter. The line north of the pond is the south line of Kent County, and the dividing line between West Greenwich and Exeter. On the lands owned by Mr. Metcalf are two ponds, both artificial. One is the head waters of a stream which empties into Long Island Sound; and the other is the head waters in this section of the south branch of the Pawtuxet river.

Harris, and Arnold, and Carpenter had bought, and then owned, a large majority of the rights of the thirteen proprietors in the Pawtuxet "impropriation," and hence claimed all lands west, north and south as far as the river extended, under the Forgery. These three men would have individually owned more than one-half the State had they established their claim. They all died in the full belief that they had succeeded, and all made wills accordingly, all of which came to naught. Let me suggest again, with this outline sketch before us, two or three questions. Had Mr. Williams by



Deed actually covered the points, beginning at (10) Providence and covering all the lands to 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, as Arnold and Harris alleged, would he have submitted to the bounds 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 fixed by Miantinomi and himself in 1642; or, had the genuine original Deed covered the points which they alleged, would Arnold and Harris and Carpenter under their wild craze for land have ever quietly submitted to the Miantinomi bound of 1642?

Again, had the Deed written by Williams, the original Deed, contained the clause which they had interpolated, would it have been necessary to "impropriate" the Pawtuxet meadows in 1638; or in what consisted the sense of the picayune line from Sasafra Point to Mashapaug pond there can be but one conclusion, the Arnold-Harris Deed of 1658 was an unblushing Forgery.

The period covered by these forgeries and attempted robberies by Harris and Arnold and the Pawtuxet partners has been described as being "one of the most confused in New England History". It would be well to consider what made it so confused in so small a portion of New England. There can be but one answer: it was the work of the "most influential of the founders of Rhode Island" engaged in a life-long struggle for the destruction of the Colony. It was the work of William Harris, assisted by William Arnold. Roger Williams thus describes this illustrious Founder: "W. Harris hath robbed us even by a kind of force ever since the birth of the towne". This may naturally have caused some confused conditions. But there was another cause, in a plea presented to the Court at Providence, which Court consisted of judges from the three outside Colonies then engaged in attempting to obtain possession of the lands of the Colony. In this plea Harris uses this phrase, "They of Providence, *Tenants by Force* (and in a preceding paper, "Trespassers"), Arthur Fenner and his party under ye name of a town," etc. (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. 10, 251). Consider for a moment the meaning of this phrase used by Harris, and applied to every man owning his house in the town, and whether it might not justify a "confused" condition.

A tenure, whether in lands or tenements, was derived originally from the Crown; therefore the King is Lord immediate, or mediate, of all tenures (Coke's Institutes, First, 1719, p. 108). Hence a

Tenant by Force was one who held his lands or tenements in violations of the legal tenures of England, and thus was wrongfully in possession. By this phrase Harris denied the ownership of every man of his own home in Providence—every one of the (12) twelve first proprietors, held by virtue of a Deed from Roger Williams; Williams alone held by a Deed from the Sachems, Canonicus and Miantinomi. This was done under the jurisdiction of Charles the First. Parliament recognized these purchases in the charter of 1643; and Charles the Second again recognized them, and affirmed them, in the charter of 1663. Under such legal conditions, how could "the men of Providence be Trespassers and Tenants by Force," as Harris charged? He and his partners held under them, and they were themselves the same men; hence by charging them with holding under a fraudulent title, he destroyed his own title.

In comparison, how much better in its foundation is the title of the men of Pawtuxet by *impropriation*, an absolute fraud and a monstrous robbery devoid of every legal principle known to English law; nevertheless, on a perfect parity with every move made by both Harris and Arnold.

Mr. Harris took his idea of calling the three Indian Deeds of 1659 "Confirmation" Deeds from Coke's Institutes (First part, 1719, p. 387), first published in 1628. Mr. Coke defines the word as "a conveyance or right *in esse* by which a voidable estate is made sure; or a *particular estate increased*; but it *strengthens not a void estate*; nor does it enlarge without privity".

Under this law "a particular estate might be increased," but it could not be enlarged by the new grantors without privity. The Narragansett Sachems of 1659 who signed these deeds had no privity, and hence under the English statute could not enlarge by "confirmation". Their confirmation consisting merely in making another sale and transfer of new lands, being led by deceit and fraud. They could not contest the fraud in an English court, and so the lapse of years fixed the title in the Freemen of the Colony. I have said these Sachems were without privity and could not legally enlarge. A person privy "must have an interest in an estate created by another." What interest had these Indians in the estate created by the English? Again, a person privy "must have

an interest from a contract or conveyance to which he is not himself a party." In what contract with the English did these Sachems have an interest?

The Charter of 1663 fixed the principle that titles to Indian lands laid in the "Potent Princes," otherwise chief Sachems, of the tribes. These "Confirmation" Deeds obtained by Harris were signed only by such Sachems then in control. However little force they had in "confirming" the Arnold forgery, there was no limit to the actual sale to the "men of Providence, and the men of Pawtuxet" of all the lands which the tribe then owned in Rhode Island north of the north line of what is now Kent County. The exact point is a pond numbered 16 on the little sketch map preceding. The title to all the lands newly acquired, vested the moment the charter went into force in the Colony of Rhode Island.

The life work of the Arnolds and of William Harris had been the destruction of the Colony of Providence Plantations, and for the getting for themselves individual possession of the entire lands of the northern half; it was for these reasons that they recorded their "fundamental" Deed at Boston, but never in Providence. They died never having actually secured a single acre, by virtue of these terrible frauds, and with the people of Rhode Island in full possession; in truth, their work for the destruction was one of the chief factors in the preservation of the State.

It has been the custom of those who have hitherto written what has been called the history of New England to denounce the People of Rhode Island for their dissensions and quarrels among themselves, and for their continuous refusals to unite in the formation of a government. Here the fundamental cause is for the first time set forth, for whatever of truth there was, or is, in these stories. For the first half century of their existence here the People had been harassed, and frightened, and kept in continuous turmoil for the preservation of their homes from the infamous treacheries and forgeries of the Arnolds, and Harris, and Carpenter, assisted, as they constantly had been, by the Boston *religious* oligarchy. It is time such work came to an end, and that the glorifications of the Arnolds and William Harris cease, at all events, in Rhode Island. This fact was noted by Chief Justice Staples in this language: "The

disputes and difficulties which have heretofore been traced from their rise to their final determination related solely to rights of property and soil" (Annals of Providence, 593).

Before leaving the subject I must call attention with some detail to the Arbitration of 1657, for, while originally started upon an entirely different matter, it bears heavily and decisively upon the time of the Forgery.

Two years before the Forged Deed was first shown, or the "Confirmation" Deeds obtained, an arbitration was appointed and a report made. This arbitration arose from the action of the Court of Commissioners under the first charter, in May, 1656. There were four arbitrators, two from the Massachusetts and two from Newport. How they were related is not known. Their report was made 15th June, 1657, and is here given nearly entire. The Court of Commissioners, now called the General Assembly, resolved that "There hath been differences between certain of our countrymen at Pawtuxet and others of this Colony". The nature of these differences, so far as was then known, related to the subjection of William Arnold, Benedict Arnold, Robert Cole, and William Carpenter, and their lands to the Massachusetts Colony, lands in the heart of the Williams purchase, in the town of Providence, were held by these men without taxation for nearly seventeen years. Roger Williams in a letter to the Massachusetts government asserts this fact: "Our second request concerns two or three families at Pawtuxet, who, before our charter (of 1643), subjected themselves to your jurisdiction" (Col. Rec. 1, 343). Mr. Williams had before written to the Massachusetts government on this affair with much severity (Col. Rec. 1, 322). The time of this last letter was 15th November, 1655. The arbitration was authorized on the 23rd May, 1656. It was to be fixed in one month, and the report to be ready in three months. It was signed on the 15th June, 1657, thirteen months after the authorization. It is as follows:

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed being mutually chosen arbitrators to determine a case depending in controversy between several of the inhabitants of Providence, and others the inhabitants of Pawtuxet, concerning the titles of lands *lieing at Pawtuxet* afore-said, do declare our resolution and determination therein as followeth,—

"That the parcel of land in controversy lying between Pawtuxet river, south; and Providence bounds, north; the Great Salt river, east; and river called Pauchasset, west, shall be so divided from east to west throughout that three parts, of Four shall be the proper lands of William Arnold, William Carpenter, and Zachariah Rhodes, to them and their heirs forever in full for the rights appertaining to them, or any of them by virtue of their shares with the thirteen purchasers, or any contract by them or any of them afterwards made, provided that this shall not prejudice the right of any of the thirteen purchasers in the five acre parcels first laid out; nor the right of a six acre parcel to be laid to the assignes of Francis Weston adjoining the aforesaid parcels; neither shall it prejudice the rights of any of the present possessors of meadows wherever within the tract before specified; and further reserving a parcel of land near the Falls in Pautuxet river, called the Vineyard, to be in 'proprietie' to all the thirteen; and the little neck lying each of the 'forsaid' Falls; and further excepting to Mr. John Sayles what is proper to him laid out within the premises; and also to William Harris all his share that belongs to him within the tract before bounded, that land already laid out to him is east of Pauchasset river, and adjoining thereunto; and the other fourth part next Providence bounds shall belong to the rest of the thirteen purchasers provided that whatsoever part or parcel of meadow lying within this fourth part still belonging to the present proprietors thereof. All the lands *lying west* of Pauchasset river shall belong to the thirteen purchasers and their heirs forever, excepting William Arnold, William Carpenter, and Zachariah Rhodes;" who was a son-in-law of William Arnold, etc. (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 94.) The purpose of calling these arbitrators must be recalled. The settlement of the jurisdiction over the persons and lands, both being at Pawtuxet, to wit, over William Arnold, William Carpenter, and Zachariah Rhodes, was the real question, and touching only lands lying at Pawtuxet. Instead of fixing the question of jurisdiction, it was not touched; but three-fourths of all the lands which came under the Sachems' Deed to Williams was given to these three men. Of course it came to naught. It is conclusive evidence that the Forged Deed did not exist in 1657, in that it excluded Arnold,

Carpenter, Rhodes, and practically William Harris from all ownership in all lands west of Pocasset and of the Pawtuxet also. Such work was scandalous to all concerned. It was a concoction made by William Harris. If the Sachems' Deed to Roger Williams had in 1657 contained that language which is printed in italics on page 86 preceding, would Arnold and Harris have failed to produce it before them; or would these arbitrators have used the bounds which they did use, thus, "That parcel of land lying between Pawtuxet river, south; and Providence bounds, north; the Great Salt river, east; and a river called Pauchasset (Pocasset), west"? The mere statement of the question is destruction to Arnold's story of his Forgeries and to his Forged Deed.

The following is Mr. Samuel G. Arnold's "History" of the affair: "It was agreed that the controversy with the Pawtuxet men should be closed by arbitration (21-23 May, 1656), after which they were to be received as Freemen of the Colony" (Arnold's History of Rhode Island, v. 1, 261). It would be quite impossible to write history more contrary to the facts than Mr. Arnold here wrote.

The Deed made, not by Williams, but by William Harris, William Arnold, and Thomas Olney, either singly, or together, is a clear and absolute forgery in all its essential parts. The original does not exist, but it is the form always printed in all Rhode Island Histories. It was slow but sure in its development; and developed always with a great show of legal knowledge by Harris. This show of legal knowledge was rotten from start to finish. There was not beneath this deed a genuine legal foundation as large as a fly's eye. Had the men of Providence possessed the slightest knowledge of English land tenures and the English law, Mr. Harris would have been instantly driven out of Rhode Island.

William Harris twice charges William Arnold with forgeries in the matter of Deeds. In his statement to the arbitrators in the matter of the Pocasset lands, July, 1670, Harris says: "The aforesaid arbytrators have known William Arnold to have had the writings thereof and delivered them defaced and Raced (erased)" (Coll. Hist. Soc. 10, p. 99). Such work was Forgery. Again, Harris appealed to the King, 11th June, 1675, for a specially packed court and jury to try his case against the people of Rhode Island. In

his appeal he said: "Some of *our partners* subjected themselves and their lands to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and then by suit demanded the said lands. Our Evidence (the Original Deed) of the same lands being formerly committed to the said demandant (William Arnold) to keep, *was cut out, and pieced together on another paper*" (Col. Hist. Soc., v. 10 (Harris papers), p. 150). Here Harris admits Forgery, but charges it against Arnold. But Arnold tells a different story. On the 7th of 12 mo. 1658, when Arnold showed his Forged Deed in a town meeting, he said those two copies, to wit, William Harrises and Thomas Olneys, which hath in these words as followeth are the true words of that writing called the Towne Evidence of Providence; and that which is wanting in the now writing called the Towne Evidence, which agreeth not with these two copies was torn by accident in his (Arnold's) house at Pawtuxet. Thus Arnold admits that something was gone from the manuscript, and that he had inserted something different which had been supplies to him by Harris, or Olney, one or both. This statement, which appears to have been made in 1658, appears on the Records in 1705. "Some of our partners" whom Harris says had subjected themselves and their lands to Massachusetts were William Arnold, Benedict Arnold, William Carpenter, and Robert Cole. William Arnold had obtained possession of this "Town Evidence", the original Deed, then seized and held it for many years. He held possession of it until it became a fixed fact that the Colony would seize and hold all his land, and that neither of the outside colonies could assist him. Then the four came back, or so many as were living. Cole, a miserable renegade forced upon us by the Massachusetts government, was dead. Very few men living in Providence in 1658 had ever seen this original Deed. The purpose of the Arnolds and Carpenter was to hold possession of this Deed, meantime secretly buying deeds from under Sachems and recording them at Boston. Then, when Massachusetts had seized Providence and Warwick, the Arnolds and Carpenter would claim the actual ownership. The scheme failed. Then they continued the Forgery. It seems incredible that any student of Rhode Island history should publish a "Denial of the Charges of Forgery" in the light of such facts as are above stated. He admits

that the date 1639 is not upon the original deed, and then says, "This is called a forgery, 'possibly' it may be so considered" (*Denial*, p. 56). Again, Mr. Paine says the tract now under criticism was written on the assumption that William Harris was a partner with William Arnold, and William Carpenter and others. This "assumption" is based upon the admission of Harris himself: "*Some of our partners* subjected themselves and their lands to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts" (Harris Papers, R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll. 10, p. 150). The four men who submitted were William Arnold, William Carpenter, Benedict Arnold, and Robert Cole. Mr. Paine then says: "The references that have been made to the original documents must have proved that this position is untenable; and yet drop the name of William Harris from the story of the imputed partnership and the tract has lost its force" (p. 67). Mr. Paine's language is astounding. Again, he continues: "Many of the assertions are based upon the theory of the forgeries, and as it is believed that it has been shown that the 'Forgery' theory is without substantial foundation, then the superstructure must fall *when the foundation* crumbles, and the assertions are *stamped* as untrue". But the foundations have *not* crumbled; and it depends upon *who stamps* my assertions as untrue whether they are overthrown. Harris charges Arnold with cutting out pieces of the original, and Arnold admits interpretating a clause written by Harris the purpose was to extend the limits of the lands covered by the Deeds and the bounds set by the men of Providence and Miantinomi. I will give you a clause from the laws of England of that day: "The making of any fraudulent alteration of the form of a true deed in a material part of it is a Forgery". Again, "The Fraud and intention to deceive by imposing upon the world that as an act of another which he never consented are the chief ingredients which constitute this offence" (Bacon's Abridgment 2, p. 567). Such was Paine's work, and such are the facts; these facts were all in Paine's possession when he wrote his *Denial*. If he did not sufficiently understand the English language to comprehend them, he was not competent to state a historical fact; if he understood them, and then wrote as he did, as a writer of history he is not to be believed. But the editors of this volume of the "Harris Papers" inform us that they "have had the



invaluable assistance of the transcripts and notes of Mr. George T. Paine, who has made a careful study of the Harris controversies" (Hist. Soc. Coll. 10, p. 6). It would be more in accord with actual history to call things by their correct names—it was crimes, not controversies, that Harris, and Arnold, and Carpenter, and their partners were acting. In this same Preface to this volume of the "Harris Papers" Harris is mentioned as the "Life long antagonist of Roger Williams". It should be added, "And the lifelong assistant of the Devil". The greatest honor that can be given to Roger Williams must be that he planted a State upon the principle of Religious Liberty—the first State so planted in the world; and now this principle lies at the foundation of every State; his next greatest honor must be that William Harris was his "lifelong antagonist"; there can be no honor in being an accomplice of a robber.

Before leaving the subject it cannot be without interest to show the various stories which William Harris told in court concerning the fundamental title to the lands.

(1)

Mr. Harris in his address to the King, 11th June, 1675, says: "Your petitioner, a weary traveller for the space of almost forty years in the wilderness of New England, and one of the first six persons that purchased land of the most superior Sachems". (Coll. Hist. Soc. 10 (Harris Papers), p. 150).

Of these six persons who, according to Harris, bought the first lands from the Indians, but one is mentioned as being a party in the original Deed. One, Olney, was not competent to hold land, being a minor. Three are not mentioned in the Initial deed given by Williams to the original proprietors. If Harris told the truth, why was it necessary for any of the first six to be included in this Initial Deed?; or why did not the Initial Deed require their signatures?

(2)

Harris to the Court, 15th October, 1677, says: "Thirteen of us Pawtuxet men were the first purchasers of Mr. Williams of all the lands both of Providence, and afterwards of Pawtuxet" (Coll. Hist. Soc. 10, p. 198).

## (3)

Harris to the Court, 17th November, 1677, says "that I, and twelve more, my partners, did purchase of the Indians, etc. (Hist. Coll. 10, p. 203).

## (4)

In the order given by the King at Hampton Court on the 4th of August, 1675, thus it is said: "Whereas our subject, William Harris, planter, in the Colony of Rhode Island, did by his humble petition set forth that he, and twelve others, his partners, near forty years since, purchased from certain Indians a parcel of land called Pawtuxet" (Coll. Hist. Soc. 10-33).

## (5)

Concerning these various and very different statements Roger Williams, Gregory Dexter, and Arthur Fenner thus addressed the Court: "And now the said William Harris declareth that they bought Pawtuxet of Mr. Williams, who is no Indian". Again: "Also, further, William Harris further saith that Pawtuxet was given unto Mr. Williams; and they (Harris and his partners) gave him (Williams) £20 sterling; and (also) said it was not bought but given" (Hist. Soc. Coll. 10, p. 215). For Harris's actual statement see (Hist. Soc. Coll. 10, p. 199).

In addition to being "a life long antagonist of Roger Williams, and one of the most influential of the Founders of Rhode Island" (Coll. Hist. Soc. 10, p. 6), Harris has been glorified for his great legal knowledge (Dorr's Planting of Providence, R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 15, p. 7). To call a man whose entire life in Rhode Island was bent upon the destruction of the Colony, an "influential Founder of the State," is a misapplication of language. So also it is to glorify the legal learning of a man who wrote the three Indian Deeds of 1659 and dubbed them "Confirmation" Deeds. Harris took nothing but the name from the English statutes. This ignorance of the English law is further shown by certain inquiries made by Harris concerning the descent of real estate (Col. Hist. Soc. 10, p. 249, Doc. 83). This ignorance is carefully pointed out by the present writer in another place (Book Notes, v. 7, p. 174). With

this "knowledge" Harris made his will, a document which was never given legal standing by any court.

In coming to this conclusion it is a pleasure to be sustained by competent minds trained both in law and in logic. Mr. Irving B. Richman, the latest writer upon Rhode Island History, and who has written clearly and well, and wholly outside of our conventional and ancestral forms, thus writes: "It may be as well to state at once that it is difficult to see how, under the language of the Town Evidence *per se* (the original Deed) and the testimony offered upon the trial in question, any other conclusion can be reached than that the western boundary of the Providence and Pawtuxet purchasers was, at the most, no further west than about the line of Pachaset river" (R. I. Hist. Soc. Col. 10, p. 13). Hipses Rock, "the most western bound," stands exactly on this line.

If Harris was one of the Founders of Rhode Island, he became so by the assistance of the corsairs of Barbary and the ending of his deceit by death. Had he lived and succeeded, Rhode Island would have been destroyed. But by a righteous judgment the lands under his Confirmation Deeds went to form the State as it now exists.

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will."

# NOTES

CONCERNING SOME OF THE  
LOCALITIES ON THE INDIAN MAP OF RHODE  
ISLAND, AND ALSO OF CERTAIN  
PLACES CONNECTED WITH  
EARLY INDIAN  
HISTORY.



#### NOTES CONCERNING INDIAN LOCALITIES.

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Corruptions in spelling Indian names developed rapidly at the close of the 17th and the opening of the 18th century. These corruptions are cleverly paralleled by the spelling of English names at the same period. For specimens of the English names the reader is referred to the recently published volume (17th) of the Providence Early Records. Two supposed Indian names appear in a copy of a pretended Indian Deed to Harris, 3 April, 1657 (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. 10, 48). These words do not elsewhere appear upon the Records,—Apawtuck, and Achetonsick. The first is a corruption of Pawtuckqut, as Roger Williams first wrote the name. It has also been written Aspotucket (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 71). The second name in this Harris Deed is a corruption of Asapumsick. Ponaganset appears in the later Records as Apehungansett and Apunhungansett. There is an Indian name given in the Prov. Early Rec. (v. 4, p. 3) as Gayonchunachet. There is no Indian word known to Roger Williams beginning with the letter G. Paucahak is a corruption of Pauchasset (Early Rec. 4, 3). Such work makes it often difficult to locate with precision the places which Canonicus and Miantinomi knew. There is an Indian locality named in the Index to the Providence Early Records (v. 15, p. 264) Soansarnt; on page 15 of the same volume the name is given as Soansacut. It is a corruption of the name Moswansacut (Early Records 2, 3), a pond and a stream (Indian map. towns, 8-9).

On these same pages, in the same order, is given Paopeacoag; in the body of the book (p. 115) it is given as Pagea Coag. In the index to the Prov. Early Rec. (v. 17) appears (page 323) the name Narraqueseade. The searcher is referred to document .0397 and also to page 19 of this same volume (17). Upon reference to this page instead of finding the name, or the document, you are told what it is, and that it was printed in Prov. Early Rec., v. 8, p. 128. To this place I go and find not the slightest reference to either the

name or the document. In despair I go to the Commissioner, Edward Field, who governed the publication of the volume. The Commissioner brought out Document .0397, examined it and gently informed me that Narraqueseade was Narrow Passage. I mention these things that men may know the difficulty encountered in fixing with definite accuracy these Indian localities. Not only is it impossible to fix all Indian localities, but it is just as impossible to give the scope or area of them as it is to point with absolute accuracy to the natural objects to which they were given.

## AGUNTAUG.

This is one of the later "Indian" names of localities. It was a brook in Westerly, and one of the bounds of an Indian's land as set forth in a lawsuit in 1699. This Indian's name was Catapazet (Potter's Early Hist. Narr. 65).

## ACHAGOMICONSET.

This must have been a tract of land, for the reason that the brook Aguntaug ran through it. It was an Indian's land (Catapazets) in Westerly in 1699 (Potter's Early Hist. Narr. 65).

## AQUOPIMOQUK.

It is also written Aquibinockett, both forms being used in the Land Evidence Records, now in the State Archives. It was the Indian name for a small Island in Narragansett now known as Gould's Island. Thomas Gould bought it from the Scuttape, who was a son of Maxanno and the Indian Queen Quaiapen, and a grandson of Canonicus. The island was bought 28th March, 1657. Scuttape was then Sachem of Bassokutoquag, which I have located at the eastern end of the present town of Exeter—Indian Map (23). This Sachem's name has been corrupted in these Land Evidence Records to "Kaskotap".

## AZORQUONESUT.

This is one of the later names given to a small island, in Narragansett Bay, near Wickford, to which, on the Indian Map, the name Nonequasut is given. The English knew it as Fox Island. Nanequoxet was another form.

## AQUEDNECK.

(31-32)

In a letter written by Roger Williams in 1637 to Sir Henry Vane, *Governor*, and John Winthrop, *Deputy Governor*, of Massachusetts, concerning the forces to be used in the Pequot war, occurs this paragraph: "They (the Narragansett Indians) also conceive it easy for the English that the provisions and munitions first arrive at Aquedneck, *called by us Rhode Island*, at the Narragansett's mouth." (Narra. Club Pubs. v. 6, p. 18.) The suggestion made by Mr. Williams that the "provisions and munitions first arrive at Aquedneck" was adopted, for the Massachusetts contingent reached that island May 23d, took a guide May 24, sailed May 25th, assaulted the fort at Groton May 26th, all in 1637, of course.

This name of this island exhibits the usual variety of forms of spelling *Acquednecke* (R. I. Col. Rec. 1, 45), *Aqueidneck*, *Aquidneck*, *Aquednick* (Portsmouth Records 13, 56 and 420); *Aquetneck*, *Aquedoneck* (Baylies' Hist. Plym. 1, 223, and Index); *Aquiday* (Baylies' Hist. Plym. 2, 9); *Aquetnet* (Plym. Col. Rec. 2, 145); *Aquidy*, *Aquidnic* (Parson's Indian Names).

Mr. Trumbull says *Aqudue*, sometimes *Aqueday*, means "the island;" and that *Aquedneck*, or *Aquidnet*, means "on the island." Dr. Parsons says *Aquidy*, *Aquidnic*, means "longest island." Recently a new definition came to us from England. It came in a review of Richman's *Rhode Island*, by Mr. Louis Dyer, and concerned the origin of the name Rhode Island.

We now come to Mr. Dyer's suggestion of the origin of the name Rhode Island. The suggestion came in a review of Mr. Richman's History, hence it is necessary to give first practically what Mr. Richman said: "Just what led the people of Rhode Island to adopt the name Rhode Island or Isle of Rhodes is an interesting question. Two opinions have found advocates. One that they had in mind a paragraph from Hakluyt's voyages printed in London in 1582, and reprinted in 1600, describing Verrazano's sojourn in Narragansett Bay in 1524, in which these words occur: "We weied ancker, and sayled towards the east for so the coast tended, and so always for 50 leagues being in the sight thereof we discovered an Ilande in form of a triangle distant from the maine lands three



leagues about the bigness of the Iland of the Rhodes." The other opinion is that what the Aquidneck legislators of 1644 were influenced by was the fact that Adrain Block, who visited Narragansett Bay in 1614 noted in his ship's log, or in the Journal of his voyage, which afterwards fell into the hands of De Laet, that "in this bay there is to be found a little *red island* (Roode Eylandt). Mr. Richman continues: "The second of these two opinions is that which has commended itself to the historians Bancroft and Arnold, but Mr. Sidney S. Rider may I think be fairly judged to have settled the question in favor of the first, by showing not only that the earliest Dutch map bearing the name Roode Eylandt was not issued till 15 years after the people of Aquidneck had adopted the name Rhode Island; but that Roger Williams writing in 1666, remarks, 'Rhode Island, like the isle of Rhodes in the Greek language is an island of Roses' " (Book Notes, v. 7, 28).

Thereupon Mr. Dyer thus discusses the views above, given by Mr. Richman.

"Mr. Richman need hardly have given even such doubtful adhesion as he does to either of the current accounts of the origin of the name Rhode Island. He rightly observes in his notes in vol. 1, p. 242, that Mr. Sidney S. Rider has quite disposed of the notion that the name came from Roode Eylandt (Red Island) on a Dutch chart issued fifteen years after the name Rhode Island became current. Nor can we really imagine the Colonists to have looked up their name in a paragraph from Hakluyt's voyages printed in London in 1582, and reprinted in 1600, where Verrazano speaks of Aquidneck island as about the bigness of the Island of Rhodes. It seems hard to take this account of the matter seriously; nor is it made easier of acceptance by Roger Williams saying in 1666, "Rhode Island, like the Island of Rhodes is an Island of Roses." Rhode Island more probably was named, like Massachusetts and Connecticut, by the Indians. Its Indian name, however, was not that of tribe, but allowed of translation. Aquidneck, *the island in the bay*, was Englished into Road, or Roads, island. The prevalence in early texts of the spelling *Road* goes to confirm this account of the matter. Mr. Richman quotes a document, dated in 1661, which has some bearing on the question—"Rhode Island is," we there read, "a road, refuge, asylum to evil livers."

Uncertain as we are about the meaning of most Indian words, there is exceptionally solid ground for insisting that Aquidnec means "*the island in the Bay*," because it is used by Eliot, translating Acts 27, v. 16, from the island Clauda, or Claudia, an islet off the south-west coast of Crete, under the lee, *in the roads*, of which St. Paul's ship took momentary refuge. Moreover, Trumbull, quoted in Mr. Richman's foot note on Ch. II, says that Aquidnesick means "*the little island in the mouth of the Bay*." If we subtract the syllable "*si*" as presumably diminutive the meaning of Aquidnec remains."

To these views the writer thus objects:

Verrazano made no reference to the island Aquidneck; nor did Hakluyt. They both referred to an "island distant from the maine lande three leagues," or again, "as distant from the maine land ten leagues." The island Aquidneck is wholly *within* the Bay. Mr. Dyer is in error.

Neither Massachusetts nor Connecticut were named by the Indians. Both were named by Englishmen, using changed forms of Indian names of objects. Neither name was the name of a tribe of Indians. Again Mr. Dyer is wholly in error.

Mr. Dyer gives this delightful knowledge: "It's (the island Aquidneck's) Indian name allowed of translation—'the island in the Bay,' and was Englished into Road, or Roads island." What does the gentleman mean? He says that Aquidneck translated into English means "the island in the Bay." How, then, can it be "Englished into Road or Roads island?" Such work is ridiculous nonsense.

Mr. Dyer's definition of Aquidneck is sheer nonsense. These Indians had no knowledge of the name "Bay" as applied to a body of water, hence the word could not mean "the island in the Bay." The word "Bay" was used in the Deed of Aquidneck given to Coddington and his friends by Canonicus and Miantinomi in 1637; but the Deed was written by Coddington, and the word was used by him.

There were many other islands in the sheet of water now called Narragansett Bay. If the word meant what Mr. Dyer says—then every island in the Bay was an Aquidneck. Mr. Dyer misrepresents Mr. Trumbull. Mr. Trumbull says Aqueday means "*the island*,"

and that Aquidneck means "*on the island*" (Potter Narragansett, 2nd Ed. 410). But Mr. Trumbull gives another and very different meaning, thus, Aqueednuck, "*Place at the end of the Hill*" (Trumbull's Indian names, p. 4). Which definition is to be believed?

The words of Roger Williams were, "Rhode Island *in the Greek language*, is an island of roses, and so the King's majesty was pleased to resent it" (R. I. Book, p. 14). These words have a profound meaning. Mr. Dyer misquotes them and then ridicules Mr. Williams.

Mr. Dyer must explain how, if Rhode Island, in the Greek language meant "an island of roses," at the same time in the Indian language Aquidneck was Englished into Road or Roads island, meaning "*the island in the Bay*." Rhode Island as a name was not current in 1644. It was then first legally given to the island. Mr. Williams writes in 1637 concerning this island, "Called by us Rhode Island". The idea must have come to those men from having seen it in print in Hakluyt before they came here. It did not become current until 1664. Eliot's use of the word in his Bible was of a still different form, *Ahquednet*. For a more detailed statement of the origin of the name Rhode Island the reader is referred to *Book Notes* (v. 7, pages 29-33). From all this it is clear that the Indians knew the island "at the Narragansets mouth" as Aquidneck. That the English at that time called it Rhode Island, Williams is the very highest authority. He did not define the meaning, but it could not have meant "Longest island," as Parsons said; nor "on the island," as Trumbull said; nor "Place at the end of the hill," as Trumbull again said; nor "the island in the Bay," as Dyer said. In truth no one knows the meaning of the word.

The Deed given by Canonicus and Miantinomi to Coddington and his friends in 1637 specifies the lands sold as being "the great island Aquedneck." It was the name of the island and could never mean being "at the island." A recent note in the *Providence Journal* says, "Narragansett Bay is the Road near the American Newport, as Cowes Roads lie across to Newport in the isle of Wight." Road as a refuge for ships is perfectly good English; Aquidneck *certainly* means "the island in the mouth of the Bay." Here the *Journal* gives a meaning not given by Trumbull, but attributes it to Trumbull.

The whole reasoning is mere farce; where, in 1636-7, did the ships come from, "into Narragansett Bay near the American Newport," not then planted, nor the lands purchased, seeking refuge, sufficiently numerous for the Indians to invent a word, meaning a "road" for ships? Such deductions are not worth consideration; there were no such ships.

## AQUEDNESET.

This is a name commonly given to a small island in Narragansett Bay west from Conanicut, now called "Dutch Island". Mr. Trumbull defines this word as meaning "at the little island." In 1654 Holiman bought from the Indians "Potowomut and Aquidnesuck." This latter locality adjoined the former locality, with the river, or brook Mascachuge, between them. In 1656 Richard Smith bought the same tracts, under the same name; and in 1659, the Atherton partners again bought the same tracts, also under the same names (Potter Early Narr., 58). In 1674, the Atherton partners sold their title to these lands to Smith. This land "Aquidnent" was a part of the mainland, and it is so still. There was no island. Hence how can Trumbull's definition "at the little island" be correct? For it must apply also to these main lands.

## ACOAXET.

(35)

This name appears in the Early Records of Plymouth Colony as Accoaksett—also as Coaksett. The name on our map, Cokesit, is doubtless the same.

## ANAWAMSCUT.

(18)

This name appears first in the Plymouth Colony Records in connection with a land transaction between Constant Southworth, who still has descendants here in Providence, and King Philip. The name was spelled Annawamscutt.

## ASCOAMACOT.

(28)

This was an Indian plantation on the eastern bank of the Pautatuck river. It was the point taken by Massachusetts under her Pequot claim for possession of the Misquamicut lands. A treaty with Massachusetts was considered at Rehoboth, in 1664, for a full and final comparing of all those uncomfortable differences and grievances that have occasionally of late years arisen concerning pretences about the place and plantation called Ascoamacot (R. I. Col. Rec. 2, 50).

## ASAPUMSICK.

(9)

This may have been a brook, or it may have been a spring, as Parsons states. It was a name to some natural object not far from the end of Borden's lane, where it enters Killingly avenue. It was near to a place called *Venter* in the Early Records.

In a deed from Joseph Williams to Shadrach Manton of a parcel of land, in 1666, reference is made to a place called "Venter." The land is represented as being on the "north side of Wannassquatucket river and up the streame of said river about a mile above the place commonly called 'Venter'" (p. 40). There is another reference to "Venter" in the "Recordes of Edward Manton's Land" (p. 9), but the reference is on the following page, thus: "Also a parcel of swampie land \* \* joyning to the southeast corner of the above-said sixty acre, the landes lieing att and about a place called 'Venter.'" The "above said sixty acres" is declared on page 9 as "lieing partly upon the hill called Neotaconconitt." The date of this "Recordes" was 1671. This fixes the locality of "Venter" as being between the two mill villages known to us now as Merino and Manton, respectively, and probably on both banks of the stream. The first reference above referred to is the sale of land upon which now stands the village of Manton, to Shadrach Manton, from whom the village derived its name; and this is the evidence, "the land being on the north bank," and bounded on "south part, and west part by

saide river," and a "mile above a place commonly called "Venter." The only place in which these conditions, with other known facts, are supplied, is that bit of land whereon Manton village now stands. I venture the following suggestion concerning the origin and meaning of the word Venter, as here used, illustrating at once the classical knowledge of the First Planters, and their essential coarseness as well. Those who are familiar with the river at the spot indicated, will remember that the river broadens at this point to a width four or five times the width attained either above or below the spot. To this broadened spot the name "Venter" was given; it was a Latin word which meant the "belly," or the "paunch," or, as the learned Riddle wrote, "anything in the shape of a belly, or a protuberance, or a swelling;" here the Woonasquatucket "swelled," and the people called it "Venter."

## ANTASHANTUC.

## (9)

This name is doubtless one of the forms used in writing the name *Mashanticut*. At all events, it was a tract of land, and lies, or was situated, where Mashanticut is known to have been situated (Prov. Early Rec. 4, 68. See "Mashanticut," herein following). It was these lands that caused so much litigation on the part of William Harris and William Arnold against all those men who attempted to "settle" upon them. *Anshanduck* is another form of writing the name (Prov. Early Rec. 4, 136).

## APPONAUG—OPPONAUGE.

## (17)

The earliest mention of the locality now known as Apponaug is noted by Mr. Fuller (Hist. Warwick, R. I., 151) as being in the Proprietor's Records under the date 1663. These records were burned at the Staples's fire, so that I cannot verify the statement. He (Fuller) gives the spelling "Aponahock."

From a drawing sent from Plymouth to London in 1684 I find the name applied to a brook is spelled "Aponihoak Riverett."

In 1696 a Fulling mill was proposed to be "set up" at "Aponake." In 1698 Steven Arnold died, leaving a will. In this will occurs this phrase: "The south side of Aponack cove or river and bordering on Cohissit Bay" (Prov. Early Records, 6, 196).

In 1736 Aponaugh Bridge is mentioned by Mr. Fuller as being so written in the Proprietor's Records. In 1751 a plat was made, on which the name was written Apponog. This has been destroyed. In 1796 the General Assembly gave permission to erect a tide mill for grinding corn "at or near Opponaugue Bridge." (Acts and Resolves, June, 1796, p. 14.) In 1819, the name is written, as it is now written, "Apponaug." (Pease Gazeteer, Conn. and R. I., 371.)

So much for the development of the word, but you ask me the meaning. Judge Potter (Hist. Narragansett, 1835, p. 302) suggests the meaning to be "shell fish." Dr. Parsons (Indian Names of Places in Rhode Island, (9) follows Judge Potter. Dr. Trumbull, the highest authority of our time, suggested the meaning to be "a roasting place," and (as he writes) "piles of oyster shells still testify." This was in 1876.

My own opinion is that the word has been developed from the word Opponenauhock, which is given by Roger Williams in his Key to the Indian Language, p. 139, Narr. Club. Ed., and means, Mr. Williams says, "oyster."

AS-COC-A-NOX-SUCK.

(17)

This name is given in a deed at page 36, Early Rec. v. 1, to "the place called, etc." The land was in Warwick, and not far from the Pawtuxet village. In this form we have not before had it; but a name is given by Parsons in his Indian Names of Places, thus "Acokesit," which he says was a river, and he further says the late Chief Justice Brayton thought it was the same river as the "Acoaxet." Parsons gives the name of a river "Akoaxet" in Little Compton; and he gives the name "Cokesit" as belonging to a place of Indian worship also in Little Compton. This was a common practice among the Indians of giving the same name to similar places, although in different parts of the country. This locality was not covered until 1667 by the English purchasers.

## ABSALONA.

(4)

This hill was named probably from a famous Indian counsellor, whose name appears in several Documents, and is written Absolone. Fone's Records, 166, 7, 8.)

## AMATACONET.

(6)

A turnpike was projected north from the town of Providence along the Pawtucket river. It was since known as the Louisquisset (Loquassuck), and it was to go to this Indian locality about ten miles from Providence.

## ANTAGHANTIC.

Parsons derived this name from (Land Titles, v. 2, p. 324) now among the State archives. He locates it "three miles west of Providence tide water shore, and about the west side of Neutaconcanut hill near the river." This is inexplicable. It is doubtless the locality Ashanduck on the Indian map (9) formed by a bend in Pocasset brook and which bend formed a neck.

## ASHAWOQUE.

A form of spelling Ashawaug, the name of a River in the Niantic country.

## ANAQUATUCKET.

(22)

Is the name given to a part of its length, to a river, or small stream in East Greenwich. It is written Annocotuckett and Annogatucket, and in many other ways. In Tiverton (34) there is a pond and a stream, Anaquacut. It appears to have been the custom among the Indians to give several different names to rivers at the



same time. This I have illustrated under the title following "The Blackstone River."

## ASPANANSUCK.

(23)

It is the Indian name of the place where Wawaloam dictated her deposition concerning the lands of Mishquamicut, now Westerly (28), given Sosoia, a Niantic Sachem, for service in battle against the Pequots done for Miantinomi, before the coming of the English. The Deposition was written 25th June, 1661. It was first printed in Potter's Early History of Narragansett, 1835 (p. 248). Wawaloam was the Queen of the Great Sachem Miantinomi. Aspanansuck, or Hakewamepinke, was doubtless an Indian village (23) at what we now know as Exeter Hill. It is upon the same range of rocky hills, of which the Queen's Fort, almost directly east, is the extreme point.

Concerning this Indian Queen no writer has left us any personal description; not even with positive certainty out of what tribe she came; but she could not have been a Narragansett, for the "I" in her name does not exist in the dialect of the Narragansetts. The late Chief Justice Job Durfee says: "I think it is somewhere said that the Narragansett chief married the daughter of Sequasson— (Durfee's Works, p. 228). It is not easy to verify this statement, but it can be brought pretty near to a verification. John Winthrop, under the date 1643, says that Uncas and Sequasson fell to war with each other, and that Miantinomi, "*being allied to Sequasson,*" took his side in the fight. In another place Winthrop speaks of Sequasson as being a kinsman of Miantinomi (Hist. New Eng. v. 2, p. 156-7). There is another mention of this alliance in the Record of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, holden at Boston the seaventh of September, 1643. "After this, some attempts were made to poyson Vncus and as is reported to take away his life by sorcery. That being discouered, some of Sequasson's company, an Indian Sagamore, allyed to and an intimate confederate with Myantinomo, shott at Vncus as he was going down Conectacutt river with a arrow or two." (Hazard's Hist. Coll. v. 2, p. 8). Other

authorities upon this alliance might be quoted, but since all are drawn from these two sources, others are not needed. To Mr. Trumbull of Connecticut only will we refer: He says "Sequasson was a Sachem upon Connecticut river" (Hist. Conn. vol. 1, p. 130).

There is an expression in one of Mr. Williams's Letters (Narr. Club, v. 6, p. 86) which goes not on all fours with this Sequasson alliance; this is the paragraph:

"Accordingly, I have been since to Narragansett and find Miantinomi willing to go to Connecticut by the time limited, the end of next month; only first, he desired to know Mr. Governor's (Winthrop's) mind; secondly, in case his father-in-law, Canonicus, his brother, whom I saw near death with above a thousand men mourning and praying about him, in case he recover, otherwise it is unlawful for them, as they conceive, to go far from home till towards midsummer."

Miantinomi was himself a son of a brother of Canonicus, to wit, Mascus, hence Wawaloam would have been either a sister or a cousin; but she was neither; she came from some other tribe, without doubt the Nipmucks. No attempt will be made to explain the letter, but we will accept the Sequasson alliance.

Thus it would seem that Wawaloam came possibly from that country along the banks of the Connecticut river, or possibly from the northwestern corner of what is now Rhode Island; that she was obtained by Miantinomi of her father, Sequasson, at a heavy ransom, in accordance with the Indian custom, married to him, and thus became Queen of the Narragansetts. That she was a person of much consequence there is no question. "A Sachem will not take any to wife but such an one as is equal to him in birth" (Winslow's Good News, London, 1624; Young's Chronicles, 361).

In 1632, Wawaloam accompanied her husband in a journey of state to Boston, where they were entertained by Governor Winthrop at his own house. It was in August; a retinue accompanied them; they attended Divine service during their stay, and on their departure a salute with musketry was given them (Winthrop's Hist. New England, v. 1, p. 103).

Roger Williams in a letter written to Gov. Winthrop of the Massachusetts Colony, said to have been written on the 9th May, 1639,

says, "Miantinomi's wife sends the basket, a present to your dear companion, Mrs. Winthrop" (Narr. Club, 6, p. 133). There was another journey of state made by Miantinomi, accompanied by Wawaloam. It extended from Wickford, as we now call it, but it was Cawcawmsquissick then, to Hartford and back. It was an affair of great political interest, and it throws a light upon Indian affairs which is without a parallel in New England history. Roger Williams has sent it along down to us.

It was in September, 1638, that Roger Williams accepted the invitation given him by Miantinomi to go with him to Hartford to act as his friend and negotiator in the matter of a treaty then desired by both the English and the Indians. Williams has given two accounts of this journey. The first is in the *Key to the Indian Language* (Narr. Club ed. p. 201), thus: "I once travelled in a place conceived to be dangerous, with a great Prince (Miantinomi) and his Queen (Wawaloam) and her children (Canonchet, or Nanuntenoo, and a younger son), in company with a Guard of neere two hundred; twentie or thirtie fires were made every night for the Guard, the Prince, and Queen in the midst, and Sentinells by course, as exact as in Europe; and when we travelled through a place where ambushes were suspected to lie, a special Guard, like unto a Life-Guard compassed, some neerer, some farther off, the King and Queen, myself and some English with me." Mr. Williams wrote this in 1643, while on his first voyage to England. In a letter written by him at the time (1638) to John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, he had previously written concerning the journey (Narr. Club, v. 6, p. 120): "I went up to Connecticut with Miantunnomu, who had a Guard of upwards a hundred and fifty men and many Sachems, and his wife (Wawaloam) and children with him; by the way lodging from his home three nights in the woods." Information reached this marching column that the Mohegans and Pequots "lay in way and wait to stop Miantunnomue's passage to the Connecticut and divers of them threatened to boil him in a kettle; these tidings being many ways confirmed, Mr. Scott (Richard), a Suffolk man, and Mr. Cope (Edward) advised our stop and turn back; unto which I also advised the whole company to prevent bloodshed, resolving to get up to Connecticut (Hartford) by water; but Mian-

tunnomu and his council resolved, being then about fifty miles, half way, on our journey, that not a man should turn back, resolving rather all to die; keeping strict watch by night, and in dangerous places, a guard by day about the Sachems, Miantunnomu and his wife (Wawaloam) who kept the path, myself and company always first, and on either side of the path forty or fifty men to prevent sudden surprises,—this was their Indian march.” In another place (Indian Key, page 101) Mr. Williams again speaks concerning the march: “I once travelled with neere 200, who had word of neere 700 enemies in the way, yet generally they all resolved that it was a shame to feare and goe back.”

Among the documents relating to the acquisition from the Indians of the lands contiguous to Westerly, which are given by Potter in his “Early History of Narragansett,” at page 248, is an affidavit signed by Wawaloam. It bears date 25th June, 1661. It declares that she (Wawaloam) was the wife of the deceased Sachem Miantinomi. In this document this Indian woman tells how the lands in question were taken from the Pequots by her “husband” Miantinomi, and his uncle Canonicus, long before the English had any wars with the Pequots; and Wawaloam further affirms that Miantinomi gave this tract to Socho “for service done for us.” When Wawaloam signed this document she was at a place called by the Indians Aspanansuck, or sometimes Hakewamepinke, which Parsons, in his “Indian Names of Places” says is “supposed to be at Exeter Hill, on the Ten Rod road.”

Wawaloam in her affirmation speaks of the “service done for us” by Socho. This service has also been described by Roger Williams in these words: “I know the man yet living who in time of warre pretended to fall from his owne campe to the enemy, proffered his service in the front with them against his own armie from whence he had revolted; he propounded such plausible advantages that he drew them out to battell, himself keeping in the front; but on a sudden shot their Chief Leader and Captaine, and being shot, in a trice fecht off his head, and returned immediately to his own againe from whom in pretence, though with treacherous intention he had revolted; his act was false and treacherous, yet herein appears polisie, stoutness and activitie,” etc. (Key to Indian Language, Narr. Club,

p. 79). That this refers to Socho is proved by reference to a letter written by Williams (Narr. Club, v. 6, p. 39). "Sassawwaw turned to the Narragansetts and again pretends a return to the Pequots, gets them forth the last year against the Narragansetts, and spying advantage, slew the Chief Pequot Captain and whips off his head, and so again to the Narragansetts; these treacheries exceed Machiavelli's." This Sassawwaw "was a Pequot, also Miontunnomue's darling" (Williams's Letter, Narragansett Club, v. 6, p. 38). Socho signed a deed thus, Sosoia (Potter's Narragansett, p. 243), and this document was at the time referred to as Socho's (same book, same page). He was also known as Sassawwaw (Trumbull's Notes to Williams's Indian Key, page 79).

Concerning Miantinomi, the early history of Rhode Island has a good many things, but in this paper I propose touching only his social, or family, or purely personal affairs, and wherein also, only his wife, Wawaloam, and his children come. As to the personal appearance of this great Sachem, Hubbard (Hist. New England, page 446) says: "This Miantinomi was a very good personage, of tall stature, subtil, and cunning in his contrivements, as well as haughty in his designs." The Narragansetts were "therein animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of one Miantinomi, the heir apparent of all the Narragansett people (more than 30,000 gathered about Wickford and the contiguous country, as Mr. Williams has told us,) after the decease of the old Sachem Canonicus, that was his uncle." Upon occasion Governor Winthrop speaks well of him—here is one: "Messengers were sent to him concerning complaints made against him; he carried them apart into the woods, taking only one of his chief men with him, and gave them very rational answers to all their propositions" (Hist. New Eng. v. 2, p. 97). Subsequently, Miantinomi visited Governor Winthrop at Boston. Winthrop says: : "In all his answers he was very deliberate and showed good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, and ingenuity withal." (Hist. New Eng. v. 2, p. 98.) When Miantinomi was born we do not know, but when he died we know, and how; he was murdered by order of the Massachusetts Government under the advice of the Massachusetts clergymen, in 1643.

Not long since the writer asked a scholar learned in defining the

meaning of Indian words, to define Wawaloam. He replied: "I think the name is from *Wa-wa*, 'round about,' and *aloam*, 'he flies,' hence a descriptive term for the swallow. She must have been, as you say, from a tribe other than the Narragansett; perhaps the Nipmuc. This is my interpretation, providing this is the only form to be found." A doubt evidently arose in the mind of my correspondent, for five days later he asked me to make no use of his definition until I heard further from him. It is eight years since that time, and I have heard nothing, but I have myself learned something. There is an Indian locality, Wawalona, in (4) the present town of Glocester, a territory then belonging to the Nipmuc lands. The similarity of the names suggests at once a common origin which may yet help my correspondent. Notwithstanding the remark of Mr. Drake (Book of the Indians 2, 64), that Sequasson was a Sachem under Miantinomi, all the evidence points to him as of the Nipmucs, and hence the probability of a locality named in honor of his daughter within the tribal lands.

When or where Wawaloam died we do not know; the last we know of her was the document referred to in this paper, of June, 1661. Within the dominions over which Wawaloam exercised Indian jurisdiction, is the present town of Exeter, R. I.; and within that town lies a farm once owned by the late William M. Bailey. Being often there a visitor with Mr. Bailey, the writer told him the story of Wawaloam. Mr. Bailey selected a small pyramidal rock of red granite, in form, a good representation of a Narragansett "two fire" house, and had cut upon this inscription:

TO THE MEMORY OF WAWALOAM,  
WIFE OF MIANTINOMI, 1661.

Not far from this Rock in Memory of Wawaloam, on these same lands, are two earth mounds side by side. They are most interesting from two points of view. They were the works of the waters in pre-historic times; and second, these were closely connected with the religious beliefs of the Narragansetts. It is not a matter of evidence, I cannot prove it; but it is more in the nature of probabilities; listen to me a moment while I tell you, why I think, that which I think. The greatest of authorities in these matters is Roger Wil-

liams; he tells us that the great Deity of the Narragansetts was Kautantowwit. I spell it with a K, in spite of the Historical Society, because Williams did. This Deity was the Great Southwest God of the Indian, as Williams tells us, "to whose house all soules goe, and from whom came their corn and beans." May I not then let my imagination believe that from these curious mounds Miantinomi, whose tribe dwelt hereabouts, invoked the blessings of Kautantowwit upon the labors of his people, for all about him were the fields of Indian corn?

It is not many years since Mr. Whittier, the sweetest singer among American poets, gave us the *Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal*, the most realistic of imaginative pictures of the Colonial social life in New England in 1678. The scene of a portion of this narrative is the "Narragansett Countrie" and "about twenty miles from Mr. Williams' Towne of Providence, a place of noe small note." Here dwelt the brother of Margaret Smith, and here while on a visit, Margaret saw an Indian Sachem perform his devotions, which she thus describes: "The Sachem struck across the field to a little cleared spot on the side of the hill; my brother bidding me note his action; I saw him stoop down on his knees, with his head to the ground, for some space of time, then getting up, he stretched out his hands towards the Southwest, as if imploring some-one whom I could not see." This interesting estate is now the property of Stephen O. Metcalf of the city of Providence.

#### THE BLACKSTONE RIVER.

(3, 6, 14)

The Indian method of giving names to rivers seems to have been that of calling them by the names already given to the locality through which they ran. Thus at the same period the Blackstone, as it is now known, was called the Seaconk; the Pawtucket; the Senechataconet; there were other names still further up the stream. Upon the names let us dwell a moment. Mr. Richardson, in his *History of Woonsocket* (page 26), says: "It (the river) has been called the Seekonk; the Narragansett; the Patucket; the Neetmock; the Nipmuck; the Great; the Senechataconet; and finally the Blackstone;

it was not until the beginning of the 19th century that this latter name came into general use. In the recently published Harris Papers is a document written by William Harris, 12th August, 1676, in which this stream is mentioned as "blackstones River." Mr. Blackstone had died then a few months before this letter was written. It is a curious instance of the development, or growth, of names of places (Harris Papers, 171). The name "Great river" seems to be found in the land transfers founded upon the General Court of Massachusetts, which body had jurisdiction from 1667 to 1746. But in the Providence Records the river was called "the Pautuckett" in 1646, and so continued to be called, in these Records, and in the Laws down to about 1830. In 1787, and again in 1809, the General Assembly in granting a lottery, called it the "Pawtucket"; Mr. Pease, in his *Gazetteer of Rhode Island*, 1819, speaks of it as the "Pawtucket"; Mr. Lockwood, on his map of Rhode Island, 1819, gives it many names, thus, from Fox Point to Pawtucket, "the Seekonk"; from Pawtucket to (perhaps) Blackstone, "Blackstone" river; from Woonsocket to Chepachet, "Branch" river. In this nomenclature, Mr. Lockwood followed Harris's Map of Rhode Island, 1795. In 1854, Mr. Walling made his map of Rhode Island, in which he gave the names, "Seekonk, or Pawtucket," from Fox Point to Pawtucket; "the Blackstone" as far as Woonsocket, and "Branch river" to Chepachet. So that the name "Blackstone," as applied to the entire stream, did not come into general use until a quite recent period, and it came in gradually.

## BASSOKUTOQUAGE.

(23)

It was here that Scuttape, a son of Meika and Quaiapen, dwelt. He was a Chief Sachem under his father, who was then (1658) Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts. The precise locality of the place cannot be determined. The Chronicle merely placing it in Narragansett. I have placed it near his mother's dwelling place, and not far south from it. (Drake Old Indian Chronicle.)



## BLY'S PURCHASE.

(24)

For an account of this purchase; the parties; scope; time, etc., see Potter's Early Hist. Narrang., 1835, p. 216; date 3rd June, 1709. It was not a purchase from the Indians, but from the Colony, and of lands which came into possession of the Colony by the Indian war of 1676.

## BALY'S BUTS AND BAILIE'S COVES.

These names are not Indian. Nevertheless, a note concerning them may not be without interest. They occur in the Providence Early Records (v. 1, 18, 84), and mark bounds in two deeds, between Englishmen; the times were 1661-1667. The Deed of 1661 (Early Rec. 1, 84) refers to "the Lower Bailie's Cove" as being a bound to land originally belonging to John Greene, an inhabitant of Warwick. The Deed of 1667 refers to "the cartway to Baly's butts on the north and bounded upon the Comons of the town (of Providence) on the west and south" (Early Rec. 1, 18). These references fix the locations as being very different. One was in Providence, the other in Warwick. In the town of Providence, in 1657, there is a record of lots layed out at *Baylifes* cove. In the town of Providence there are two records concerning "two Bayleys coves," written again in the same document "Two Bayleiffes coues," and again "Bayliffes". These entries throw confusion upon the exact locations of the cove, or coves, for there were certainly two of them. It will be observed by reference to the text, and the index to volume one of the Providence Early Records, that the spellings are not alike. "Balys" must be a person's name; and must be in the possessive case, and hence a man. Buts, whatever it was, was in the plural form; there must have been at least two. We have no knowledge of a man named Baly, or Bailly, or Bailey owning land either in Providence or in Warwick.

There was one Richard Bayly made Free of Newport in 1669. He became at once Secretary to the Governor's Council. Benedict Arnold was the Governor. In 1670 Bailly was a member of a

special commission sent by the Governor and Council to Connecticut. In 1671 he was elected General Attorney, but declined accepting the position. In 1676 he was one of a commission to appoint "watches and wards" on the island, Rhode Island; it was the time of the great Indian war. In that year he was an executor of John Clark's will. In 1677 he with Peleg Sanford were "desired and chosen to be the agents of this Colony to goe for England" (Col. Rec. 2, 580). In May, 1678, Richard Bailey, as the name was then written, was dead (Col. Rec. 3, 5). This man was very active in the Colony, 1669-1678, less than ten years. But I cannot connect him with these things in Providence. He could not have been a Freeman or landholder here in 1657, when *Bayleys Coves* are first mentioned.

The lands near Bailey's Cove, if in Warwick, were near the Francis estate at Spring Green. The lands near Baly's Buts, or Bailey's Cove, in Providence, were situated on what was then known as Providence Neck. This "Neck" was that part of Providence now largely covered by Swan Point Cemetery and the Butler Hospital estate.

The meaning of the word "buts" in these records is uncertain; and the origin, or application, or meaning of the word "balys" is not less uncertain. The present English word "but", or "butts", means the outer extremity, or bound of a locality. The word "but" in Wright's Provincial Dictionary, a book which covers the literature of the age, of which I am writing, gives twenty (20) different meanings to the word. Among them these: "A flounder or plaice"; "a small piece of ground"; "the outer room of a house", as for instance a back kitchen; "a hassock," defined by Mr. Wright as "a tuft of rushes". It has been suggested that the "buts" of trees were meant, being constantly used for bounds in those early days. For further reference see the name Capanaganset, following in these sketches, also the name Passeconuquis.

## CHEPACHET.

## (1)

This is the Indian name of a village now in the town of Burrill-

ville. The earliest definition of which I have present knowledge is that given by Henry B. Anthony in his poetical political squibs printed in the *Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal* in two parts, January 9th and February 9th, 1843. Mr. Anthony said: "Chepi-chuck is the original Indian name, of which Chepachet is a corruption. It signifies Devil's Bag. The question will naturally arise, if Chepachet be the Devil's bag, why he did not pull the strings of it when the heroes of Acote's hill were assembled. He will never have another such chance" (*Dorriad and Great Slocum Dinner*, ed. 1870, p. 23). This silly nonsense was taken earnestly by Dr. Usher Parsons in his "Indian Names" (1861, p. 11). Dr. Parsons gives Chepatset as a variation in spelling, and then follows Mr. Anthony's joke. "It means Devil's Bag. A bag, or wallet, was found here, probably dropped by some hunter, and as no one could tell who, an Indian said it was the Devil. Hence Chepac, *devil*, and chack, *bag*, now converted into Chepachet". Trumbull, in his "Indian Names", under the word "Chippachooag", our map (26), gives the word Chepachet as being the name of a river, and a village, in Rhode Island. He says it denotes a "place of Separation, that is, where a stream divides." In another place, Trumbull defines the word as meaning a place of division, or the fork of Branch river ("Potter's Early Hist. Narr., 411). What can "a place of separation" mean with reference to a village? or what can it mean as "a place of separation" when the Chepachet river *unites* with Branch river? Two streams flowing in the same direction unite. But for utter stupidity both in research and in reason, the work of Parson is the very first. If Roger Williams is an authority, no Indian knew the Englishman's Devil. There is no word Chepuck in the Narragansett meaning Devil. Nor would any Indian have suggested that a bag, which had been found, having no known owner, must have been lost by the Devil. The Indian knew no Devil. The story of the finding of a bag is mere nonsense. How could so silly a thing have been preserved in history two centuries?

CHACHAPACASSET.

(18)

This is the Indian name of the extreme southern point of the

Nahet peninsula, nearly opposite to what is now Warren. It is now called Rumstick. Concerning this latter name there has been much curiosity. It first appears in a land transfer, 28th January, 1698. The idea that this name arose from any connection with the liquor now called rum seems incapable of being maintained. In an address on the Early Voyages to America, delivered by James P. Baxter in 1889, references are made concerning the visits of the Northmen to Narragansett Bay, Mount Hope, and the remarkable coincidence between it, and the Norse word elsewhere herein discussed, Hop. There is also used the Norse word, rymstock. This spelling was doubtless a typographical error, the word being rum-stokkv (Baxter's Early Voyages, 14). This word means the runic staff of the Norsemen; and it also means a bed-post; it is the English *room*: its primary meaning is room, or space; a derived meaning is a place of rest; it is ancient and found in several of the old Icelandic sagas (Prof. R. B. Anderson, Letter to the writer, 1890). Rum-stick is one of *four* points extending almost quadrangular in form, into this, the broadest and widest waters of the Bay. These points are Papasquash; Rum-stick; Nahet; and Warwick. This broad, square space is certainly indicative of "room," for the Norse ships, as well as a place of rest, otherwise a safe harbor. The Indians had another specific name for the point, Chachapacasset. The word rum-stokkv might have been often heard by the Indians uttered by the Norsemen and concerning the broad waters which I have indicated; this might have settled at last into rum-stick and fixed itself upon the point now so called. A lady now dead, but who when living was a very close and careful student concerning Sowans and parts adjacent, wrote to the writer, in 1890, a letter discussing this question. Her name was Miss Annie E. Cole. The lady writes: "My own idea of the origin of this name does not include these *rum* traditions, but is this: There were no dividing lines in those early days, and the older surveyors laid their corners by heaps of stones, trees, creeks and stakes. There is an inlet or *run* near Rumstick point. It is often named in the old Deeds, records, and surveys. I think they set a stake at this 'run' and called it the run-stick, or stake, and this was corrupted into rum stick, with the addition of the traditions." This idea of Miss Cole's meets a strong support in

a communication to the writer written by one of the most accomplished woman scholars in Rhode Island. She writes: "A possible original of 'stick' in Rumstick would be the Imelandic 'stik,' meaning stakes or piles, which in times of war were driven in the mouths of rivers, inlets, and along the shore."

## CHEMUNGANOCK.

(29)

The exact time of the death of Ninigret is not a matter of record. He was very aged. It must have been not far from 1690. A daughter was his successor. The "ceremonies of her inauguration took place at Chemunganock; these ceremonies were the presentation of peage, and other presents, as an acknowledgment of authority; and sometimes a belt of peage was publicly placed on the Sachem's head as an ensign of rank" (Potter's Hist. Narr. 1835, 99). The wild talk of Coronations, and Crowned Heads, and royalty was the invention of the Rev. Frederick Denison (Hist. Westerly, 28), also his Dedication Oration, 30 August, 1883, at which "Coronation Rock" was marked and Dedicated, and an old remains of a Dutch Trading Fort named and dedicated as Fort Ninegret. No Indian ever constructed such a defence in such a place. It is nothing but the wild work of an imaginative man carried into effect by men without the slightest knowledge of Indian affairs.

## CHESEWANOCK.

(20)

This was Hog Island, bought by Richard Smith from Ousamequin in 1657.

## CHIBACHUESA.

This is the Indian name of the Island in Narragansett Bay, now known as Prudence. Concerning it there is much curious and interesting history; some of it touches even the romantic. There dwelt at Plymouth an Englishman named John Oldham. He was,

as history tells us, a daring trader among the Indians. He owned trading vessels and visited the coast trading with various tribes. During his visits to Narragansett Bay, Mr. Oldham had gained the friendship of Canonicus to such an extent that the Sachem gave Oldham the island Chibachewesa, the only condition being that Oldham should build there a house and come to dwell in it so that Canonicus might be near him. Before this was accomplished, while Oldham was at Manisses with his boat on a trading expedition, some Pequot Indians killed him. Soon after this Canonicus, conceiving an affection for Roger Williams, offered the Island to him, he to build and dwell upon it. But Mr. Williams did not desire to dwell there. He then proposed to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts to join with him and buy the Island, on which they might raise swine. This was done in 1637. About 1644 the English drove the Dutch from New Amsterdam, took possession of the land and named it New York. The King, Charles the Second, then gave the land from the Connecticut river to the Delaware to his brother James, Duke of York, and made Francis Lovelace, Governor. Governor Lovelace in return for some service gave to a person named John Paine the island Chebatowesett, or Prudence, erected it into a manor, by the name Sophy Manor, giving Paine a Patent or Confirmation, in the name of His Royal Highness James, Duke of York and Albany. A little later in the same year "orders and Privileges for the welfare and good government of the island were issued, and Paine was made Governor for Life. His claim was soon overthrown, the grant to Roger Williams and Governor Winthrop thirty-five years before being shown" (Potter's Early Hist. Narrag., sec. ed., 322). Paine died in 1675. In June, 1678, a petition was presented to the General Assembly by Col. William Crowne, asking how he may proceed to recover, what is his due, from the estate of the deceased Mr. John Paine, of Providence, who died intestate (R. I. Col. Rec. 3, 10). Getting no satisfaction from the General Assembly, Crowne sent his son direct to the King, Charles the Second, asking for a grant of the lands of Mount Hope, but this, too, failed, and it was the end of the ridiculous gift which Governor Lovelace, made to Paine, of an Island over which he had not the slightest jurisdiction. This claim rested solely on the theory that all lands

not before granted by Charles the Second were included in this grant to James, the Duke of York. Paine was arrested as an intruder, but in what jurisdiction we do not know. He defended himself in a letter to the jury, which, for absolute nonsense as a legal argument, has been rarely surpassed. This letter was followed by another, but not to the jury, from Prudence, four days later—Nov. 4th, 1672. Paine was but forty years of age at this time.

## CAUCAUNJAWATCHUCK.

(10)

This name appears in a "lay out" of land in 1666 to Epenetus Olney. It is described as "bounding on the southwest partly with the land of John Angell, on the northeast with the land of Thomas Olney. This seems sufficiently indicative of the general locality where this place was situated; at the southwest of what is now the city of Providence. Parsons gives the name in this form, "Conconchewachet." He defines it as being land, but does not locate it. (Early Rec., v. 1, p. 34.) This locality was not occupied by the English settlers until 1667. The name is also written Caucaun. (Early Rec. 17, 142.)

## COWESET.

(17)

The name *Coeset* is usually considered to be an Indian word. It is a part of the town of Warwick. In the ancient records there is recorded an exchange of lands with John Greene, wherein occurs these words: *Cacawonch*, known by ye English name, *Coeset* Pond. Roger Williams gives the words Cow-aw-esuck—meaning Young Pine trees. The Narragansett language when spoken made it sound Cowawes-uck, which Mr. Trumbull interprets as "a place of young pines." He states that there are several places in New England bearing this name, more or less corrupted. See Toweset.

## COJOOT.

(27)

This name occurs in a Deed of lands which are in South Kingston.

The word means, or was given to, a mine of black lead near the Pettaquamscut rock; probably near (so Judge Potter thought) the foot of Tower Hill. This word, like Pojack, and Cajacet, may belong to some other dialect than the Narragansett. There are but two words, both practically the same, given by Williams, in which the letter J occurs. The only place where this word occurs is in the first Pettaquamscut Deed, 20 January, 1657; "They also grant them all the black lead in this title, and in a place called Coojoot" (Potter's Early Hist. Narr., 275). Parsons varies the spelling to Cajout. Roger Williams gives the Indian word Métewis as meaning "Black Earth." This Trumbull explains as being "Plumbago" or Graphite (Narr. Club, 1, 207). It was on what is now Tower Hill that Cojoot was situated. Mr. Jackson (1840) speaks of working a mine of Plumbago there, and the raising of thirty tons, going but four feet into the rocks, in an orchard (Geology of Rhode Island, 1840. p. 89).

## CAWCAWMSQUSSICK.

(22)

It was here that Canonicus marked lands given to Roger Williams on which to dwell, and upon which Williams dwelt nearly ten years, a neighbor of all the great Sachems of the Narragansetts, save only Miantinomi. It was from this place that many of his letters were written (Narr. Club, v. 6, 158, 181, 170, 166, 168, etc.). The earliest house built by an Englishman in that land was that of Richard Smith about 1641 (Potter's Early Hist. Narr., 31). More appears concerning this name in the following note on the Devil's Foot Rock.

## CAP-AN-A-GAN-SITT.

(17)

This name of a locality occurs in a deed given by Ezekiel Holliman to William Carpenter, in November, 1658 (Early Records, v. 1, p. 79). The place is described as "a certayne parcell of upland, and meadow, containeing about two acres, layeing neere the Salt



river at a place called Capanagansitt." It was bounded on the north by a little "runnett" on the east by the Salt Water; the other bounds are indefinite. It is doubtless a portion of the land referred to at page 83, Early Rec., as "being on the south side of a small fresh streame which runeth into a salt cove." This salt cove, three years later, in 1661, was called "Bailies" cove. In 1854 it was called "Passeconuquis Cove." The head land is still known as Gaspee point. There is a small pond at a distance of half a mile northerly called "Ponaganset." The name at the head of this note is evidently this word ponaganset, with the prefix "Ca."

## CAUSUMSET.

(20)

This was the Indian name of the tract of land now forming the northern part of Bristol, R. I. The Plymouth government, in 1668, enacted a law prohibiting all persons from buying land from the Indians, "or receiving in any way of the Indians any of these lands that appertain unto Mount hope or Cawsumsett necke" (Brigham's Compact, Charter, and Laws, 154). In printing this latter Indian name Francis Baylies (Hist. Plymouth, 2, 64) writes it "Sawsumsit," which is probably an error. The name Consamset (10) in the town of Cranston is doubtless the same word.

## CAJACET.

(30)

This is the name which Benedict Arnold gave to his estate at the south end of Conanicut Island. He twice mentions it in his will (Brooks's Old Stone Mill, 77, 84). This name is not a Narragansett word. The presence of the letter j makes it certain that it came from some other language. Virgil Æneid, Book 7, writes of his nurse, Cajeta; and her name was given to a town, Gaeta, in Italy. Possibly Benedict Arnold learned this from the schools in England before he came here, for he was twenty years of age when he left England. By looking at the coast line of southern Conanicut

several small Bays will be seen; upon the largest of them his lands lay,

“Then in a straight course to Cajeta’s Bay  
Along the coast he swiftly made his way.”

Possibly the name Cajacet came from the name Cajeta, an old school friend of Benedict Arnold’s. For this couplet I am indebted to my excellent friend, Erastus Richardson, whose metrical translation of Virgil brought him an honorary degree from Brown University.

## CUSHENAH.

(35)

Is an Indian name of tract of land the exact location of which is not known. But it was in what came subsequently to be known as Little Compton (Plymouth Colony Rec. 3, 192).

## CUMNUCK.

(27)

The name of the most northerly island in Point Judith pond. It is about half a mile north of the Isle Naheganset.

## CONIMICUT.

See “Namquit,” following in these sketches.

## CONFIRMATION DEEDS.

What they covered; who obtained them; and when obtained. See “The Seven Mile Line” herein.

The reason for calling them “Confirmation Deeds” was, in order to fix the ownership of nearly 300,000 acres of lands, which these three Deeds brought into the possession, or ownership, of the proprietors under the Deed to Williams—into the private ownership of William Harris; William Arnold; and William Carpenter (Forgeries connected with the Indian Deed to Roger Williams, by Sidney S. Rider, 1896).

## CHIPACHUACK.

(26 or 27)

Concerning this locality there is much confusion, as there is also in the spelling of the word. Chippachoog, or Chepachewag, or Chippechuock, or Chipchug, or Chepuxet are some of the forms. On our map the location is twice fixed in (26). Some writers have fixed the place south of Hall's purchase; and some have given the name to the lands which Hall and Knight purchased. This purchase was first located in modern times on the map of Rhode Island by Walling. All the Indian localities which appear on that map were indicated by the late Judge Elisha R. Potter, than whom Rhode Island has produced no more accurate historical researcher. Hall's purchase is placed on our map in (27), but it extended to more or less extent into three towns. Judge Potter also gave the name to a river, Chepuxet, and to a pond, Chipchug. There is a report of a commission made in 1679, in which occurs this language: "Where is the head of Paucatuck river? The Indian answered, and the Indians all agreed, the head of Paucatuck river is a pond called Chipchug (27), which lyeth above the pond called Aquebapaug." This latter pond is now known as "Wotden's." The report can be found in Potter's Early Hist. Narrag. (p. 266). Trumbull gives the word Chippachaug as applied to an Island in Mystic Bay (Conn. Col. Rec. 1, 224). Trumbull also gives Chepeche-wag, citing the manuscript report of Thomas Minor, a commissioner. But the form Chipchug which I have given was also taken from a report of this same Thomas Minor. This only goes to show the impossibility of attempting to reconcile with any degree of satisfaction these early writings. Trumbull defines the word as meaning "a place separated, or apart." He drew Chepachet from the same root, and meaning "a place of separation, or where the stream divides." Roger Williams gives the form Yo-chippachausin as meaning "there the way divides" (Indian Dict., 96).

## QUINUNICUT—OR CONANICUT.

The earliest mention of Conanicut Island in the annals of Rhode Island occurs in the Deed given by Canonicus and Miantinomi, of

Acquidneck Island, to William Coddington and his friends, March 24, 1637. In this deed the marsh and grasse upon Quinuncutt, and all the other islands excepting Chibachuesa, now called Prudence, was sold to the English. The Island itself was not included in the deed. This arrangement concerning the grass went on for many years without trouble, but trouble finally came in 1655 when the Indians objected to the taking of the grass, and Mr. John Gould complained to the General Assembly. The Assembly directed the "President" of the Colony, who was at that time Mr. Roger Williams, "to signifie to them (the Indians) how that ye President hath here openlie avouched ye Island's right as a spetiall witness of ye grant of their dead Sachems." Mr. Williams also stated that he had then recently told the Sachems, then ruling the Narragansetts, the same thing, he being at Narragansett. This, however, did not quiet the Indians, and on the 17th April, 1657, William Coddington and Benedict Arnold, senior, purchased the Island for one hundred pounds, of Coginaquond (Potter's Early Hist. Narr. p. 54). Here I correct an error in Mr. Arnold's History of Rhode Island; he giving it as Benedict Arnold, *Junior*, a son of the first governor, who bought the Island. This boy was at the time of the purchase but seventeen years of age; and, moreover, the Governor in his will gave away large portions of the Island, and large portions especially to this Benedict, *Junior*.

This purchase of Conanicut was made at the time when enormous tracts were purchased from the Indians. It might be fairly said that almost the entire territory (saving Warwick) now forming the State of Rhode Island was obtained during the years 1657-1660. The General Assembly made laws to prevent purchases without its consent, but they were careful to abstain from making these laws until all the lands had been acquired, or, at all events, all the lands worth having. At the time of the coming of the English, Conanicut was under the jurisdiction of the Narragansetts, and the purchase was made from that tribe; but it had not been long in their possession, and it had been acquired by conquest. This is apparent from the wording of the original deed, Canonibus and Miantinomi claiming it "by vertue of our general command of this Bay, and also the perticular subjectinge of the dead Sachems of Acquednecke." This

tells the tale of bloody war and of conquest. At this early time the Island must have been denuded of trees, else it could not have the valuable grass lands which the English so much needed. It was purchased, as I have stated, by two men, William Coddington and Benedict Arnold, subsequently the first Governor of Rhode Island under the Charter, and the builder of the Old Stone mill at Newport about which so many fables have been written. Mr. Coddington must have disposed of his portion in parcels to suit settlers; but Mr. Arnold not only held his portion, but he purchased more, so that at the time of his death he had acquired a very large part of the Island. Governor Arnold died in 1678, leaving a will which is historically of considerable value. In it he declares that he gave the name Bever Neck to the southern portion of the Island. He does not tell us why he gave the name to it; it certainly could not have been from the fact that it was a habitat of the Beaver; it must have been because of the resemblance in outline to the tail of the animal, and the name now used is Beaver-tail.

From this Will we get the name of another Indian locality, *Cajocet*. This place Governor Arnold twice mentions in the will. He gave it to his youngest son, Oliver, saying it contained three hundred acres, and was "called Cajaset land." In a codicil it is again mentioned, thus, "within which tract is contained my farm called *Cajaset*." This name Mr. Seth M. Vose has given to the fine estate on the Island now owned by him. Elle (Eel) pond and Mackerell Cove are other names found in this will as applied to localities, one of which is still used. Of the Indian Sachems, whose names are connected with Conanicut, we know but little. None of them dwelt upon it. Of the dead Sachems of Acquidnec we know absolutely nothing. Of Canonicus and Miantinomi we know something; both were dead some years before the English bought the fee of the Island. Of Coginaquond we know something; he must be distinguished as being the greatest seller of lands to the English among the Indians; his name has been spelled in a variety of ways: thus Kachanaquant, or Cojonoquant, or Cachanaquant, and he dwelt on the lands of his ancestors, near Wickford, as we now call it, but near Cawcumsquisuck, as he knew the place. His relationship to the great Sachems, Canonicus and Miantinomi, is a matter of much

confusion in the ancient histories; but that he was the Chief Sachem among the Narragansetts from 1650 to about 1665, the fact that his name was the *first* sought by the English to be signed to their Deeds, is a sufficient evidence. In one of the Deeds given to Randall Holden he is mentioned as the brother of Miantinomi; in one of his pleas William Harris speaks of him as a grandson of Canonicus, but Judge Potter, an excellent authority, says unequivocally that he was a son of Canonicus. This is the history of the acquisition of the Island and a mention at least of those from whom it was acquired. That the Indians dwelt on the Island there is no question. Roger Williams in a letter to Governor Winthrop says that the Indians complain that "two of their women were carried away from Conanicut in this Bay the last summer" (1638).

It must be noted here that at this early date Roger Williams used the form, Conanicut, which we now use. In the Arnold Will the term is used ten times, and spelled in five different ways, provided the copy given in the Newport Historical Magazine, v. 6, is correctly reproduced, thus: Quonaniquot, Quononiquot, Quononicut, Quononiquit, Quonanicut.

While upon this subject there is one other matter to which I will make reference. Judge Potter in the *Early Hist. Narragansett*, p. 304, says: the strip of land which connects Beaver neck to the main part of Conanicut, is called *Partridge Beach*. This same strip is referred to in the Arnold Will, as reprinted in the magazine above referred to (page 27, v. 6), as "the narrow beach, or sponge of land called *Parting Beach*." Having been unable to make a personal examination of the earliest authority I am unable to say which is correct. The use of the word "sponge" of land is from the old or middle English, and means a marshy, or swampy land. There are many sensational stories written concerning the Island and its former residents, but the basis of these tales is chiefly the imaginations of their writers.

## DEVIL'S FOOT.

(22)

This is an erosion in a ledge on the north side of the Pequot path, now the highway, between Davisville and Wickford. It was in the

Indian Deed now known as the Fone's purchase. This Deed was dated 1st January, 1672. It is recorded in the Land Evidence Records, v. 2, 189, now at the State House. There have been legends written in which these "foot" marks, and cavern in the rocks, in the field nearby form a part. For these reasons the name is placed upon the Indian map. Mr. Trumbull says: "*Caucumsqusuk*, where Richard Smith built his trading house, and where Roger Williams lived for some years, seems to have taken its perverse name from a 'marked rock,' the same probably which the English called 'Devil's Foot,' on the road from Wickford to East Greenwich. *Pettiquamsott* is 'at the round rock,' a well known landmark on the west side of Narrow river, in South Kingstown." (Potter's Narragansett, 411.)

## ESCOHEAGUE.

(21)

This word as above spelled is stated by Trumbull to have been corrupted, or eliminated from Neastoquoheaganuck. I have taken an intermediary from the succeeding records.

GOTAM, THE PLACE "COMMONLY CALLED GOATOM."

(9)

This name is not of Indian origin, nor is it upon the Indian map. It is in what is now known as Olneyville. Curiosity is aroused to discover if possible the origin and meaning of the term. Almost the first document printed in the Providence Early Records (v. 1, p. 8) is a record of land laid out to Thomas Clemence, by the Town Surveyor of Providence, in January, 1671, as we now reckon time. In this record are references to two localities. "The place commonly called Goatom" and "The Hill commonly called Solatary Hill". (Prov. Early Records, v. 1, p. 8.) In a former *Book Notes* the writer endeavored to fix these localities; and concerning one of them, Goatom, suggested a commonplace origin of the term; but this origin now strikes the writer as being so far wrong, that he comes again to the question (Book Notes 9, 112). The location then fixed

upon was doubtless sufficiently correct, to wit, the land in Olneyville, North of the Woonasquatucket river, upon which the Atlantic Mills now stand, and extending down and including the Fletcher Mills. It must have been in those early days an exceedingly beautiful valley.

Goatom is an English corruption of the name of a village in Nottinghamshire, England, *Gotham*. It was given to this locality by men who came from that country, and who were familiar with the ancient history of the English village. It came from the "Merie Tale of the Mad Men of Go-tam", for so runs the title of the earliest known printed copy of this distinguished publication, which was written by Andrew Borde about 1560. He was a native of Gotam, the English village, which lies six or seven miles south from Nottingham. (Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, Bliss Ed. 1, 170.)

Dr. Andrew Borde, for he was a physician, founded his "Merry Tale" upon a transaction which took place at Gotam; or Gotham, on the 3d October, in the 24th year of Henry VIII. This is the transaction:—"At a last Holden, at Westham, for the purpose of preventing unauthorized persons from setting nettes, pottes, and innoyances, or anywise taking fish, within the privilege of the march of Pevensey, the king's commission was directed to John prior of Lewes, Richard abbot of Begeham, John prior of Myehillym, Thomas Lord Dacre and others." Mr. Timbs relates that this meeting was held at Gotham (Curiosities of History, 180). Thus it appears that "Gotam" and "Westham" were in effect the same locations. "A last holden" meant "day of meeting". The 24th of Henry VIII was 1532-3. From the record it is conclusive that from the year 1532 until 1630 the name had always been spoken Go-tam.

Frederick I. Furnivall, one of the most learned of recent English philologists, gives this title, "Merie Tale of the Mad Men of Gotam", as being the correct title of the only existing copy, that in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, printed in 1630. But other editions had existed since 1565 (Notes and Queries, 8th Series, v. 10, p. 211). The word was divided thus, *Go-tam*, the accent being on the first syllable. The transition was easy, to Goatom, as our earliest settlers wrote it. It is a serious tale of the wild silliness of fools for details of ridiculous vagaries, the reader is referred to Brewer's Dictionary



of Phrase and Fable; also to Notes and Queries, 1st Ser., v. 2, 520; also to Wheeler's Noted Names of Fiction, p. 154.

While it is not necessary to my present purpose to enter upon the growth, development or genuineness of these tales, for the reason that whether true or false, that question changes not the force of my derivation, nevertheless it may not be without interest to give a few specimens of these tales.

In the year 1613, William Laud, who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury, was President of St. John's, Oxford, and a Royal Chaplain. There arose a frivolous controversy at Oxford, in which at last leading men became entangled, and Laud among the rest. In order to throw ridicule upon the controversy Laud wrote a satirical account of "the Foundation of Gotam college". In writing the name, Gotam, Laud followed the spelling of the Bodleian copy. Moreover, he says that Gotam was "commonly so called in the mother tongue of that place." (Notes and Queries, 3d Ser., v. 5, p. 2.)

The founder of the College of Gotam "resolved to build the college in the air to save charges", "he got up into a tree, and borrowed a rook's nest for a cushion, to see the plot of the building, and the foundation laid" (Notes and Queries, Ser. 3, v. 5, p. 2). "When the King's Messengers arrived at Gotham they found the inhabitants engaged in endeavoring to drown an eel in a pool of water"; others were engaged in dragging carts upon a large barn to shade the wood from the Sun; others were engaged in hedging a cuckoo, which had perched upon a bush; the men had surrounded the bush, holding each other by the hand to prevent the cuckoo from escaping; in short they were all employed upon some foolish way or other, which convinced the King's Messengers that it was a village of fools." (Notes and Queries, 1st Ser., v. 2, p. 520.)

In 1636, Englishmen came here to plant the town of Providence. Their plantations soon covered the banks of the fresh water streams, which here flowed into the salt waters of the Bay, and among them was the Woonasquatucket; it came then as it comes now, in the lowlands, lying between Notaquonckanet, and Sky High, now called Mount Pleasant. The situation suggested at once the action of the men of the town, which several of them had so recently left, in Henry

VIII's 24th year. concerning fishing in the stream and the "preventing of unauthorized persons from setting nettes, pottes, and innoyances or anywise taking fish within the March of Pevensey". The river, and the lay of the land, along the Woonasquatucket, at once brought to mind the action of the wise men of Gotam, with which they had been familiar all their lives, and which name Laud, had twenty years before, stated was pronounced as it stands at the head of this note—Go-tam.

The earliest English Comedies were in their order Ralph Roister Doister; Gammer Gurton's Needle; Misogonus; and Ferrex and Porrex. The time of writing cannot be fixed, nor can the time of their earliest dramatic presentation. It is sufficient to say that the first three plays above named appeared between the years 1551 and 1567. In Misogonus alone lies our present interest. The scene is laid in Italy between Philogonus and his neighbor Eupelas. The first had a son, Misogonus, who was a wild rake, and Eupelas was giving advice to Philogonus as to effecting a reformation. In the household of Eupelas was Cacurgus, who was the domestic fool of the family, as Mr. Collier has described him. A scheme was suggested by a companion to take Misogonus "hunting two-legged venison". They went, but left the domestic fool Cacurgus behind them. Cacurgus began to make fun of Misogonus, saying among other things: "Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha! I must neds laughe in my slefe. The wise men of Gotum are risen againe."

Thus it is beyond question that the name Goatum, given by the earliest English settlers in what is now Olneyville, in Providence, was so pronounced in dramatic representation in London about 1551. (Collier's English Dramatic Poetry before the time of Shakespeare, 2, 464-472.) The name is printed *Gottam* by Ritson (Robin Hood Ballads, p. 27). Mr. Ritson cites as his authority the Bodleian copy of the Merry Tales. It is also written Gottam by Coryat, in his Oration before Charles the First, when Duke of York, in 1611 (Notes and Queries, 1st Ser. 2, 477). Mr. Halliwell says "Kemp applauded merriments of the Men of Goteham," and says it was printed in 1594. William Kemp was one of the original actors in Shakespeare's Plays. Such is the origin of the local name in Providence in 1670.

## HIPSES ROCK.

(9)

It was the "most western" bound fixed "in his own person" by Miantinomi to the lands Deeded to Roger Williams. In a bright green pasture and within sight of the westernmost foot of Notaquonckanet Hill stands Hipses Rock. It is a huge isolated rock beneath which was once a cavernous space sufficient for men to stand beneath. This space is now partly filled with sand. The first impulse is to think the name comes from that of some woman, possibly Hephzibah. Following this impulse the writer searched all the records of early families dwelling near that place; but with no success. No name resembling Hepsy or Hephzibah could be found. There must be therefore some other origin. Those early Englishmen were much given to curious nomenclature. There is in the immediate neighborhood of Hipses Rock a place called by them Venter. This place is beside the Woonasquatucket river, just below the present village of Manton. There the river broadens, making an expanse somewhat resembling a pond. Venter is a Latin word meaning the belly, or paunch, or, as the learned Riddle wrote, "anything in the shape of a belly; or a protuberance; or a swelling". At this spot the Woonasquatucket swelled, and the people called it *Venter*. Goatown is another name given to a neighboring locality, the origin of which must be sought in the earliest dramatic literature of England. The name Hipses came probably from the Latin word *Hesperius*, meaning towards the west, or the most western point, and this is just what Hipses rock was, among these bounds which Miantinomi personally fixed just before he was murdered, to the lands covered in the Deed from Canonius and himself to Roger Williams. The Deed to Williams gave Notaquonckanet Hill as one of the bounds; but Hipses rock brought the entire hill, with thousands of acres of land, within the purchase. The name appears in an agreement made between the original proprietors of the town of Providence and the Pawtuxet proprietors, chiefly the same individuals, dated 31st March, 1665. It also appears in the document *Salus Populi* (Early Records, v. 2, p. 72), which document bears no date, but which must have been written after March, 1660, and



**"HIPSES ROCK."**  
Hesperus, The Most Western Bound.



before the close of the year 1665. This Document with absolute certainty preceded the agreement of 1665 above referred to, hence it must be the earliest recorded evidence concerning the names of the boundaries, "set in his own person" by Miantinomi, and to which those names were in that document given.

It next appears in the Town Agreement, which is in these words (Early Rec., v. 3, p. 61): "Agreed that the line of difference shall be runn between them from the end of that line already sett betweene the Town of Providence and the men of Pawtuxett neere unto Pauchassett river; and from thence upon a straight line unto a Rock called Hippses Rock which Rock is about three quarters of a mile westward from the farme howse of Joseph Wise where Henry Fowler now liveth which house standeth upon the hill called Neota-conquonitt—but if in running of the said line the said rock shall fall nearer, or further off from the widest way between the river called Pawtuxet, and the river called Wanasquatuckitt then the line shall be fixed in midst between the two rivers against the said Rock—and that shall be the line". Two other early Documents refer to Hipsey's Rock as a boundary. In 1706, William Hopkins made an agreement concerning the lines bounding the "Lappum land"—which land was "neare up the line of Pawtuxet, on the north side of a due west line from (the called) Hippses Rock" (Early Rec., v. 4, p. 78). In 1674, Daniel Williams gave a Deed of "one three acre lot lieing beyond a place called Newdaconanet, neare unto a place called Hipses Rock" (Early Rec., v. 4, p. 191). The form "Hippesses" appears in a deposition made by Epenetus Olney for William Harris to be used in his suits for these lands (Col. R. I. Hist Soc. 10, p. 92).

## HORN HEAP.

Potter (Early Hist. Narrag., 303) defines it as the northwest corner of the Pettaquamscut purchase and "so called from a pair of buck's horns placed on the pile when first erected". There are three different deeds from the Indians of this purchase, 1657-1657-1661, but this bound does not appear in either Deed. The writer after much research has failed to locate it, and hence has not placed it upon the map. It is here noted because of the frequency of its mention in the later English conveyances.

## HAKEWAMEPINKE.

Another name for the Indian locality. *Aspanansuck*, where Wawaloam, the Queen of Miantinomi, lived. See "*Aspanansuck*."

## HACKLETON'S LIME KILN.

A. D. 1665.

This is not Indian, but it is interesting and new to the present generation. See "*Setamachut*."

## KICKEMUET.

(19)

The extreme northwesterly part of Mount Hope Bay has an arm extending north, now known as the *Kickemuet* river. Along the banks of this river summer visitors have built their habitations where once stood the wigwams of the Wampanoags. The name is Indian—it may not be without interest to devote a few moments to the consideration of it. The earliest mention of the name in the annals of the English settlers appears in a deed of the territory lying near and including it, given by Massasoit and his son Wamsutta to certain distinguished men of Plymouth, of whom Governor Bradford was one, for thirty-five pounds sterling. The date of the deed is 29th March, 1653, and the name was thus spelled, *Kickamuet* (Bailey's Hist. Plym. Bk. 2, p. 234). Fessenden (Hist. Warren) reproduces this deed (page 56) and spells the word *Kickomuet*. Here are two variations in transcribing the same document.

In 1660 Wamsutta made complaint to the Plymouth Colony of the damage done by English "swine on the neckes called Annawamscutt and *Kekamewett* (Plym. Col. Rec., v. 3, p. 192). In this connection the Record reads: "Near by was a spring called *Kekamenest*." (Plym. Col. Rec., v. 5, p. 248.) The Recorder at Plymouth notes the sending of Lieut. Hunt and Joseph Peck to "view the damage done" by swine "on Kickamuet neck" (Plym. Col. Rec., v. 2, p. 209), which is described in these same records as being in the entrance of "Mount Hope Necke," 1679. (Vol. 6, p. 16.) It

was then spelled *Kekamuett*, and is also spelled at about the same time *Keekamuett* (vol. 6, p. 29). Capt. Church, writing about 1715, a History of King Philip's War, speaking of the advance of the Plymouth soldiers, says: "They marched until they came to the narrow of the neck at a place called *Keekamuit* (Church's Hist. ed. 1772, p. 13). This word is spelled differently in Church's History, the edition of 1716, which was the first—thus *Keekkamuit* (page 6).

John Callender, writing in 1739, says: "Both Philip and his chief old men were utterly averse to the war, and they shew the spot, Kikemuit spring, in a farm belonging to Stephen Paine, Esq., of Bristol, where Philip received the news of the first Englishmen that were killed with grief and sorrow, and wept at the news." (Hist. Disc. 1st ed., 1739, p. 73.) See also Hist. Soc. Col. R. I., v. 4, p. 126. This note, written within a lifetime following the event, destroys whole pages of tradition, which has been formulated into "history" since Callender's time. This note, written by Mr. Callender, is in direct conflict with what he wrote in the body of the text concerning Philip's aversion to the war. The picture of Philip's *weeping* is extremely touching.

The Rev. Jeremy Belknap, writing in 1798, says: "The principal seat of Massasoit was at Sowams and Kikemuit. (American Biography, v. 2, p. 221.)

In 1822 the Rev. Samuel Deane, in a communication to the Mass. Hist. Soc. (Collections, Sec. Ser., v. 10, p. 174), incidentally touches the word *Keekamuit*, as he writes it. Mr. Deane says: "That *wutohkekum*, the Massachusetts and Narragansett name for 'a spring,' is derived from *wuttatash*, 'drink,' and *kikegat*, 'day' or 'clearness,' that is, a clear spring, the aboriginal name of Bristol, R. I."

Mr. S. G. Drake, writing in 1827, says: "*Keekamuit* now the upper part of Warren which has been taken from Bristol. It is called on the map of R. I., *Kickemuett*, or rather the bay which makes the neck on one side is so called; Warren river makes the other side." (Hist. Philip's War, 1827, p. 34.) Alexander Young, writing in 1841, follows Mr. Belknap's note (Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 208). Mr. Guy M. Fessenden, writing in 1845, says:



"On this (Mount Hope) neck were three Indian villages, viz., Montop located near the mount; Kikemuit, around a spring of that name; and Sowams, or Sowamset, pronounced S'womset, on the spot where the village of Warren now stands." (Hist. Warren, p. 13.) Mr. Fessenden again refers to the word (page 65). Dr. Usher Parsons, writing in 1861, gives the form Kickamuit, which he says means "*a back river*," but what that means, Dr. Parsons does not inform us. He cites G. A. Brayton as authority that the name was applied to the "Apponaug Mill Stream," for which probably there is *no* authority. Then Dr. Parsons says "it is a river in the north part of Warren," and "it is a spring at the extreme N. E. part of Bristol a few rods from the Warren line. In the Narragansett dialect springs were called Watchkecum, clear spring Mishamuit. On the other side of the bay (that is, the region where Kickamuet is) springs were called Dashmuit, Ashimuit; but Kickamuit means *clear spring*." (Parsons's Indian Names, p. 15.) This note came wholly from Mr. Deane's note, and is full of errors. Dr. Parsons gives two entirely different meanings; surely both cannot be correct.

In 1865 Mr. H. M. Dexter edited an edition of Church's Hist. King Philips War. In a foot note (Part 1, page 6) Dexter presents Fessenden's note, adds a note of his own, which only confuses the case, and cites Trumbull in denial of Dr. Parsons, when Parsons said Kikemuit means "a black river." "No," says Trumbull, it has lost an initial syllable. Tokekommuit signifies "at the spring or water source," and Hammond refers to Eliot's Indian Bible for the word Tohkekom. Eliot's Bible was published in 1663. Mr. Dexter gives in his Index to Church another form, thus, Keekkamuit. This, as is shown above, is in agreement with the text of Church's first edition.

In 1643, twenty years before the publication of Eliot's *Indian Bible*, Roger Williams published his *Key* into the *Indian Language*, and to this day it stands at the very head of authorities concerning the philology of that language. Mr. Williams says *Takekum* means "a spring." *Takekummuo* means "is there a spring." Eliot gave *Tohkecum*. Mr. Trumbull was right, the first syllable has been lost. *Ta* and a last syllable, *uit*, has been added, thus Kekumuit.

which means perhaps at or around the spring, and was the name of the Indian village.

Plymouth Colony had claimed jurisdiction, in spite of the charter of 1663, to all lands on the eastern side of Narragansett Bay. In 1691, the Massachusetts Colony by a trick swallowed Plymouth, and for half a century pressed her claim to these lands. In 1746 the King of England, by his Council, threw out the Massachusetts claim and gave jurisdiction to Rhode Island. In 1755 the Colony of Rhode Island enacted a law to prevent the setting of seines in *Kikamuit* river—so it is printed (Col. Rec. 5, 472). But in the Acts and Resolves, February, 1755, the word is printed *Kekemuit* (page 79). The law provides "that no sein shall be set or drawn in Kekemuit river within half a mile's distance from the said narrows called Little's and Mason's Narrows."

KITACKAMUCKQUT.

(31)

This name appears but twice in our early records; both times in the Deed of Acquidnec Island given by Canonicus and Miantinomi to William Coddington and his friends, 24th March, 1637. The original manuscript is not known to be in existence; but the document was recorded on the Portsmouth Records by Richard Sherman 20th April, 185—. Mr. Sherman certified his record to be a true copy, *of a copy*, of the Original Deed. The word is thus spelled, I am now resting upon the Records of Portsmouth as printed in 1901 (pp. 55-56).

Kittackquamuckquiet—Kittackquamuckopette.

The document also printed in the Rhode Island Colonial Records, v. I, pp. 45-46, thus gives the name:

Kitackamuckquutt—Kitickamuckquutt.

The editor does not state whence he made his copy. It certainly was not made from the original. In the two records the word is given four times, and each time different in form. The recorders certainly copied from something which they saw, and not from a spoken sound, which came through the ear. There is certainly no

excuse for such work. The original Deed was probably written by Roger Williams. He negotiated with the Sachems for it, and was one of the witnesses to the signatures. His handwriting was clear and distinct; and his experience in writing into English letters the sounds of the utterances of the Indians was more acute and much greater than any other man possessed. It will illustrate how so much corruption has crept into the spelling of Indian names. This locality is placed on our map at the most north point of Aquidnec Island (31). This at first might seem to be an error; because having deeded the island there was no necessity of giving the English permission "to cut the grass upon the rivers and coves about Kitackamuckcut". This, however, seems to be overcome by the declaration of the two great Sachems that their title to the Island rested upon the "subjecting of the dead Sachems of Aquidnec and Kitackamuckcut, themselves and land unto us". This must fix the location of Kitackamuckcut on the Island.

## LOQUASSUCK—LOQUASQUOCIT.

## (6)

There is scarcely a peculiar name in Rhode Island, in these latter days, which has awakened more curiosity as to its derivation and meaning than Louisquisset. It is the name of a road or highway running from Providence northerly, and west from the Blackstone river. In the early records the name often appears, and always in connection with that locality. Some years since, Mr. W. E. Foster applied to Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, the ablest student of Indian Philology then living, for its explanation; but Dr. Trumbull could not give it, remarking that "in its modern shape it is unintelligible and corrupt beyond conjecture of its original Indian origin." (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. Pt. 19-1, page 23.) A reference to this difficulty made in *Book Notes* not long since fell under the eye of Mr. W. W. Tooker of Sag Harbor, N. Y., who has much interest in such matters; he applied to the writer for a history of the word; the writer gave also to Mr. Tooker the varieties in spelling which the oldest of our records disclosed, believing that in this variety of spelling lay hidden the phonetic sounds, which possibly might give

a real clue to the meaning of the word. Mr. Tooker then sent the writer this letter:

My Dear Sir,—The abstracts from the early records containing the various forms of the name *Louisquissett* are very good, and afford sufficient data for my purpose. I can now, as the lawyers say, prepare my case.

There can be no doubt whatever but that the word, in the form as it has come down to us, belongs to the Nipmuck dialect. In fact, there is some evidence, which seems now unnecessary to quote, that the locality itself was within the bounds of the Nipmuck country. Evidence is ample that the Nipmucks invariably sounded the *L*. Roger Williams's Key gives us some instances of this by inserting some words containing this letter, which he evidently obtained from the Nipmuck Indians. (See Narr. Club Ed. R. W.'s Key, pp. 58, 168, 170, 172.)

The various spellings, *Loquassuck*, 1646; *Loisquisset*, 1658; *Loquasqusuck*, 1667; *Locquoset*, (no date); *Loqusqusset*, *Locasquiset*, 1672; *Loquasqusuck*, 1685, 1702, shows that the phonetic elements are probably more correctly represented in the longer forms. The word, as evidenced by its terminal, is in the diminutive form of the locative case; that is to say,—*is*, is the diminutive,—*uck*, the locative; Roger Williams, however, was not constant in the use of this locative, as he varies it as,—*it*,—*ick*, *et*, *ut*, and *uck* (see Trumbull's Note, RW's Key, Narr. Club Ed. p. 33). Therefore,—*is-uck*, or *is-et*, signifies "at or about," [a fixed locality, not an extended country]. Now we have confronting us the main verbal root *Loquas*—, with a grammatical formative—*qu*. The sounds of *q* in both of these elements are sometimes represented in various dialects by *K*. By substituting the Narragansett *N* for its alternate *L* in the Nipmuck, we have the word *Noquasqusuck*, or *Nocasquiset*. Taking all these facts into consideration, as we must, we then find that the verbal root, with its formative, *noquasqu*, or *nocas-qu*, is the parallel of the Narragansett *Nokus-kau*, or *Nockus-kaw*, "to meet," "to come together." (Narr. Club, Ed. RW's Key, p. 100.) For comparison, we have in the Delaware (Zeisberge) *nakisgauwan*, "to meet him"; Otchipwe (Baraga) *nin-nagishkawwa*, "I meet him"; Abnaki Rashes) *n8naski8an*. Je le rencontre en chemin; Cree

(Lacombe) *Nakiskaew*, rencontre. Therefore, from this study, we have the whole name in the Narragansett *Nokus-kau-is-uck*, or *Nockus-kaw-is-uck*, "at the place of meeting." Which, as stated in the record of 1646, by "Gregory Dexter, Thomas Olney, Roger Williams, and Robert Williams, in a word of truth and faithfulness," was "an Indian plantation lying northwest of a parcel of land claimed by Ousamequin" (R. I. Col. Rec. v. 1, p. 33). It was undoubtedly one of the Indian palisaded inclosures or forts—a place of refuge for the Indians of that vicinity. Roger Williams may have met and preached to the Indians there.

Yours very truly,

W. WALLACE TOOKER.

The writer cannot strengthen the argument of Mr. Tooker in a philological way, being no philologist, but he will do what he can in the way of historical research. Mr. Tooker says the word is of the Nipmuck dialect, and hence must apply to the country of the Nipmucks. The Nipmucks, or Nopnats, or Nipnots, or Neepmucks, or Neepmoogs, as the name is variously spelled, occupied a territory covering the northern portion of Rhode Island, extending to and beyond Worcester, and thence southwesterly into Connecticut, even to the banks of the Connecticut river. Roger Williams, in a letter to John Winthrop in 1637, writes of the "further Neepmucks" (Letters, p. 28), and the "hither Nipmucks" (Letters, p. 29). He says, Wunnashowtucket is the place of the "further Neepmucks," and that there "the enemy shelters and has forts," and he tells Winthrop that these Indians are equi-distant from Providence and Boston. Trumbull, in his *Indian Names*, has this word Wunnashowatuckqut, which locality he says is in Worcester county, and says the word means "at the crotch of the river, and probably refers to the forks of the Blackstone."

If by the forks of the Blackstone, Dr. Trumbull means the place where the Branch river falls into the Blackstone, it would be just on the border of Massachusetts and northwest from Woonsocket a short distance. In the year 1637 Williams writes of a battle between the "further Neepmucks" and the "hither Nipmucks," and gives the result as a victory for the "hither Nipmucks" (Letters,

pp. 38, 47). Mr. Drake (Book of the Indians, Book 2, p. 100) gives a record of actions by the commissioners of Massachusetts, in which occurs mention of an Indian battle at Quabakut (now Brookfield, Mass.), which attack is described as "a hostile invasion of Wosamequin (Massasoit); from this, Mr. Drake argues that at some period Massasoit dwelt among the Nipmucks, having left the Pokanoket lands (Bristol) to Wamsutta. This jurisdiction, but not the dwelling of Massasoit in this district, is confirmed by Roger Williams, by an agreement with Massasoit concerning a tract of land; the agreement was "to buy the right which Ousamequin pretendeth to a parcel of land which lies between our bounds at Pawtucket and an Indian plantation northwest from thence, called Loquassuck" (Annals of Providence, 566).

It is stated in Drake's "Old Indian Chronicle," page 64, that both the Narragansett and the Wampanoag tribes laid claim to this portion of the lands of the Nipmucks; and it appears by a letter written by Mr. Williams in 1668 that "the Nipmucks were unquestionably subject to the Narraganset Sachems" (Letters, 326). From all this it is clear that wherever else the Nipmuck lands lay, a part lay certainly in the northeastern part of what is now Rhode Island; and it is stated in the older histories that one cause of trouble between those tribes consisted in the desertions from the Wampanoags to the Nipmucks, at this very spot which was the frontier, or border land, of each tribe. From these facts may have arisen the word which Mr. Tooker says means "at the place of meeting." History thus corroborates philology. To fix the precise location of Loquassuck is now impossible, but the hazard would not be great in placing this Indian Plantation (the meeting place) on the lands on the western side of the Blackstone river, southeast from Woonsocket, and between the mill villages of Manville and Albion. The defining of this word gives me a fine illustration of different ways men have of looking at the same situation, or question. I have stated, concerning the great varieties of spelling shown in the earliest records, of this word, that Dr. J. H. Trumbull said "in its modern shape it is unintelligible, and corrupt, beyond conjecture of its original Indian origin". These varieties of spelling struck Mr. W. W. Tooker in a very different way. He says: "The various forms

of Lonsquisset gives me a very strong clue to its origin. It is very strange that Trumbull did not notice it. The form Loquasquissuck, 1667, I take to be the oldest." In this point Mr. Tooker is in error, for I had given him the form which stands at the head of this article as of the year 1646, more than twenty-one years before the form which he selected. The location of Loquasquiscit, as the word is spelled in the Colonial Records (v. 1, p. 33) is clearly fixed by a Testimony written by Roger Williams concerning some lands bought of Ousamequin, the great Sachem of the Wampanoags, the lands lying "between our bounds at Pautuckqut, and an Indian Plantation northwest from thence called Loquasquiscit". But the agreement which Williams and his companions made with Massasoit carried the title of the "great meadow at or about Loquasquiscit" to the English settlers forever. (R. I. Col. Rec. 1, 32.)

## MOUNT HOPE.

(20)

All the lands now in Rhode Island on the Eastern shore of Narragansett Bay, became a part of the Colony by the Charter of Charles the Second in 1663. This grant was contested by both Plymouth and the Massachusetts for many years, until 1746, when a Decree of the King, George the Second, terminated the claims. It may possibly be for this reason that no reference to Mount Hope as a Rhode Island possession appears in the early annals of that Colony. The earliest is that which came from the petition of John Crowne to Charles the Second in 1679 for a grant to him, Crowne, of them. The earliest reference in either the Plymouth or the Massachusetts is the law of 1668 enacted by Plymouth, prohibiting persons from "buying or receiving from the Indians any lands that appertain unto Mount hope, or Cawsumsett necke" (Plym. Col. Rec. xi, 221). From this law it is possible to think that these two names were synonymous. There was published at London, in 1675, a book entitled "The Present State of New England". In it occurs this phrase: "The place where Philip dwelt is on a parcel of land, called in English, Mount Hope". This may mean that Cawsumsett

was the Indian, as Mount Hope was the English, name of the locality.

In 1772, Dr. Stiles of Newport, subsequently President of Yale College, edited an edition of Church's History of King Philip's War. Where Capt. Church used the name Mount Hope (page 7), Dr. Stiles placed this note, "Or Mont Haup, a mountain in Bristol". In 1818, was published Mount Hope, a Poem, by William E. Richmond, in which is given three forms, Mount Hope; Monte Haup; Mon Top (page 37). In 1814, Timothy Alden, a clergyman, published "A Collection of Epitaphs," in which are the following notes concerning Mount Hope: "King Philip, as he is usually called, erected his wigwam on a lofty and beautiful rise of land in the eastern part of Bristol, which is generally known by the name of Mount Hope; according to authentick tradition, however, *Mon Top* was the genuine aboriginal name of this celebrated eminence. To this there was no doubt an appropriate meaning, but it cannot at present be easily ascertained. From the summit of this mount, which is perhaps less than three hundred feet above high water mark, it is said that in a clear day every town in Rhode Island may be seen. The towering spires of Providence, in one direction; then of Newport, in another; the charming village of Bristol; the fertile island (sic) of Poppasquash; and fields clothed with luxuriant verdure as far as the eye can stretch". Mr. Alden speaks of "James DeWolfe's summer house near the brow of the hill" (Alden's Epitaphs, 4, 77). This summer house is also mentioned in a note by Samuel G. Drake (Hubbard's Indian Wars, ed. 1865, 1, 46). Mr. Drake visited the place in 1824; at that time, he writes, "a neat octagonal summer house stood upon the top erected by Capt. James de Wolfe in 1801. It was surmounted by a statue of King Philip". In 1820, Eastburn's *Yamoyden*, a poem, was published, with notes by Robert C. Sands. One of these notes is this: "Mount Hope appears to have been called by the Indians Mont Haup, or Montaup, and has thence been easily corrupted into its present name; it is called Haup, throughout the poem, improperly, as I (Sands) believe" (*Yamoyden*, 259). Francis Baylies, writing in 1830, says: "Mount Hope is supposed by some to be a corruption of the Indian word Montaup" (*Hist. Plymouth*, 3, 3). Samuel G. Drake, in 1865, gave the



opinion that these (forms) are most likely corruptions of Mount Hope" (Hubbard's Indian Wars, ed. 1865, p. 46, v. 1). If there was such an Indian word, it must have been engrafted into the Indian language from the language of the Northmen, who are believed to have visited Narragansett Bay during the 10th or 11th centuries. The first word which a Northman would have uttered, upon entering this Bay, would have been Hop. In truth, it was so uttered, if this Bay was the one into which the Northmen sailed, and the Sagas are to be believed. Prof. Wilfred Munro thus states the case: "Coasting along the shore in the spring of 1008, Thorfinn came to the 'river flowing through a lake' which Leif had described, was detained by the shallows at its mouth, as Ericson had been, and at high tide sailed up to where the river opened out into the lake; this place the Northmen called Hop. This probably was the origin of the Indian name Haup, or Montaup, from which the present name Mount Hope is derived". Prof. Munro thus continues: "The Plymouth settlers only anglicized the name which had been given to the Mount Hope lands by the Indian owners. There is no mention made in the Saga of the return of two of the ships of this expedition, to Iceland. It is quite likely that with some of their followers they remained at Hop and married some of the Indian women. Thus while all traces of them would be lost in the course of a few generations, yet some of the names which they gave might be retained. It is difficult otherwise to account for the name Haup which many familiar with the Indian language have declared to be *not* Indian, and which yet was undoubtedly applied to the country by the native tribes when the English colonists first heard of the territory." (Munro's Story of the Mount Hope Lands, 21.) There was published at Hafniae (Copenhagen), 1837, a work entitled "Antiquitates Americanæ" by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. The work was printed in three languages, Norse, Danish, and Latin. It comprized the Sagas of Eric the Red, and of Thorfinn Karlsfne, and in addition all references to the matter in whatever other manuscripts such references might occur. Prof. C. C. Rafn and Finn Magnussen edited the work. Prefixed to the Sagas is an abstract in English of the Historical evidence contained in the work. On page xxxv (35) the following appears: "The word

Hop in Icelandic may either denote a small recess or bay formed by a river from the interior falling into an inlet from the sea, or the land bordering on such a bay. To this Mount Hope's Bay, or Mont Haup's Bay, as the Indians term it, corresponds, through which the Taunton river flows, and by means of the very narrow, yet navigable Pocasset river meets the approaching water of the ocean at Seaconnet. It was at this Hope that Liefs booth's were situate; it is above it, and therefore most probably on the beautifully situate elevation called afterwards by the Indians Mont Haup, that Thorfinn Karlsefne erected his dwelling hiuse". The following extract is taken from the *Historia Thorfinni Karlsefnii* (p. 147). It is here given in the Latin version for the reason that few could read it in the Norse or Danish language:

"De Karlsfnio autem hoc dicere est, quod austrum versus terram prætervehebatur atque Snorrius ac Bjarnius cum sociss. Diu navigarunt et eo usque, donec pervenerunt ad fluvium quendam, qui, ex terra defluens, per lacum quendam in mare se exoneravit; ibi vasta erant brevia arenosa, quare amnis subiri nisi maximis æstibus non potuit. Karlsefnius ac sin ostium intraverunt, et locum *Hopum* (æstuarium) appellaverunt" (*Antiquitates Americanæ*, 147). I present a rude translation:

"Of karlsfinnis, this is to say that the south wind drove him towards land, and Snorrius, and Bjarnius, with their companions. They sailed about for some time until they came to a certain stream which, flowing out from the land, by means of a certain lake or bay, empties into the sea; there, there were short, huge sandy places (or short sandy wastes), on which account the river could not flow without very large undulations. Karlsfinnis and his companions landed and named the 'locum,' estuary, Hopum". This word is the Latin for the Danish Hopet or Hopi, and for the Norse Hop. The learned Copenhagen antiquaries have told us, as I have above shown, that this name denotes, or was applied, "to the narrow yet navigable river Pocasset, where it meets the approaching water of the ocean at its exit at Seaconnet". They also append this note, explanatory of the application of the word Hop: "Recessus v. derivatio fluminis v. maris, conflues, it. refugiem. Idem nomen etiamnum adhæret locis et stagnis in toparchia Hunavætnensi borealis Islandiæ."

To this the learned editors have appended certain citations of authorities, which I omit, not being accessible to people here. Such is the argument in favor of the opinion that the name Mount Hope, as applied to this hill, came in some way from the visit of the Northmen. But there are those who look upon such an opinion as being but slightly removed from the absurd. First among such men comes Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, who says: "The suggestion that the name of Mount Hope has an Icelandic origin (from the 'Hope' of Thorfinn Karlsefne, in 1008,) is hardly entitled to serious discussion. No instance can be shown of the adoption by Indians of a local name from a foreign language. Even after two hundred and fifty years intercourse with English and French, Algonkin tribes still retain their ancient names for the localities on which towns and cities have sprung up. Montreal is still '*Moniake*,' Detroit is still '*Wawiatan*.' If 'Mount Hope' is an Indian name, and was not originally given by the English, it probably means 'the head,' *Montup*; no inappropriate designation of this prominent height, distinguished at a considerable distance by

'—the snow white cliff that capped its head.'

Roger Williams gives, in his Indian Key, the word Naynayoume-wot, meaning a horse (p. 158, Narr. Club ed., v. 6). Before the English came, the Indians never heard of a horse (Williams' Key, 158), and hence could have had no name for such an animal. This name was then made after they saw the animal, and after the English came. In his note Mr. Trumbull says, "a creature that carries". Trumbull must then explain why the Indian had a word meaning "a creature that carries", it not being possible to show that the Indian ever heard of such an animal. Again, Roger Williams gives the compound word, Chicksanawat, meaning "the cock crows" (Key, 134). On the preceding page Mr. Williams says, "A name taken from the English chick". The Indians never knew a fowl of this species before the coming of the English. These are not "local" names, but they are names of things, which throw discredit upon Trumbull's theory. The name coined by the Indians for a horse came from the noise made by the animal, written in English, *neigh*. Mr. Trumbull then says: "If Mount Hope is an Indian name, and was not originally given by the English, it probably means *the*

*head*". Roger Williams, than whom there is no higher authority, gives in his "Indian Key" (page 76) the Indian word *Uppaquontup* as meaning "the head"; Williams gives no synonymous word, as, for instance, *Montup*, as meaning the same thing. As between Williams and Trumbull, I must follow Williams. But Trumbull *caps* the climax of absurdity in this last line, "the snow white clift that capped its head". The word clift is obsolete; cliff is the word. But what kind of an elevation does he suggest? Let us come down from poetry to common sense. Mount Hope is 200 feet high, with "its snow white clift". Jerimoth Hill, in Foster, stands 799 feet; Pine Hill, in Johnson, 529; Chopmeset, 730; Niswosaket, 588; Wionkeige, 557; Absalona, 635; Durfee Hill, also in Gloucester, 805. There is scarcely a town in Rhode Island in which are not hills twice the height of this "snow white clift". Mr. Trumbull's paragraph (Potter's Early Hist. Narr. 2nd ed., 409) was written late in life. The heights here given are the U. S. Government surveys taken from the Topographical Atlas of 1891.

There is no record of the naming of this hill by the English. The absence of early mention by the English is because it did not come into the possession of the English until after the shooting of King Philip upon it in 1676. Before leaving Mr. Trumbull, I wish to touch another name contiguous to Mount Hope. In speaking of the changing forms of Indian words he cites Papasquash, saying it becomes "Papoose Squaw" (Indian Names, vii). It will be impossible to cite any official record, or map, in which, or on which this point of land is named "Papoose Squaw". It is only the silly gossip, in our own time, of some one suggesting the origin of the word in the original Deed spelled as above written. In a recent publication occurs this sentence: "It is more than probable that Mount Hope was named by the same persons who gave the Christian names Prudence, Patience, Hope, Despair to the Islands in Narragansett Bay" (Bicknell, Hist. Barrington, R. I., 10). Roger Williams was the person who gave these names, just as he gave the name Providence, because "of the many Providences of the Most Holy and Only Wise" (Narr. Club 6, 335). Providence was not so named until it was bought by Williams; Patience was acquired at the same time by the same parties. Hope was a gift to Williams

by Miantinomi, who was murdered in 1643; it was afterwards named by Williams, and went upon the record in 1658. There was no island named by Williams "Despair". Mr. Williams desired, after the purchase of Aquidneck, to name the Island, Patmos (Narr. Club, 6, 104), but the owners objected. Having named a small island Hope, why should Mr. Williams apply the name Hope to this hill ten years before it became within the jurisdiction of any English colony, being inhabited solely by King Philip and his tribe? There is another interesting fact which came to the writer in his researches. It was concerning the money values given to these Mount Hope lands in 1678. When Crowne asked the King, Charles the Second, for these lands, Randall Holden and John Greene, both from Warwick, R. I., but at that moment in London, they were asked their opinion of the extent, jurisdiction, and money value of them. They answered about 4000 acres, outside of any jurisdiction, value £4000. The same questions were sent to Plymouth. Plymouth admitted that it had no legal jurisdiction, but would like to have one; that there were about 7000 acres, and that Mount-hope with its appurtenances by far the better part of all our conquest land, we have put to sale for £3000, but have not yet found one chapmen" (R. I. Col. Rec. 3, 64). This was dated July 1, 1679. The King granted jurisdiction to Plymouth in January, 1680, and seven months later the lands were sold for £1100. Under such conditions, would Roger Williams have ventured to give a name to this hill, or would it have been accepted any more freely than Patmos was accepted for Aquidneck. If the Copenhagen antiquaries are correct, the name was given by the Northmen, not to a hill, but to the specific outlet called now the East, or Seaconet passage, and must, at some subsequent time, have been applied to the hill. If an Indian had spoken the name Montaup to an Englishman, would not his first thought have been Mount Hope just as he wrote it in 1668, twelve years before it was acquired? For these reasons I cannot accept as conclusive that Dr. Trumbull reached that the question was hardly entitled to "serious discussion"; on the contrary, I think the question of Icelandic origin comes within the realm of serious discussion.

## MASHANTICUT.

## (9)

This word is, like many other Indian words, spelled in many different ways. Roger Williams has left a record of its use twice, spelled the same on each occasion, thus, *Mishauntatuk*. It was then applied to a country and not to a brook, as it is now applied. The word means a "well-wooded country," and was doubtless given to this land from that cause. These Indian lands were among the earliest which William Arnold attempted secretly to secure to himself. The Deed which he obtained from Socononoco does not appear in any Providence Record, but was secretly placed on record at Boston in 1645. (Suffolk Records, Bk. 1, Doc. 63.) From that time for nearly half a century the lands of Moshuntatuc, as William Harris wrote the word, was a bone of contention between the Pawtuxet partners as represented by Harris, against the Providence proprietors, in a lawsuit which lasted forty-six years; and the lives of the dwellers on these lands were made miserable by innumerable bye-suits. In an appeal to the King by Harris, which was decided in favor of Harris, three of those first settlers were ordered to be ousted, but the decree was never executed. The boundary of the town of Providence in this direction was a line (which was never drawn or laid down) extending from the mouth of the Pawtuxet river to Neutaconkanut Hill. A glance at a map will show these lands on the west of such a line; and hence had the claim of the Pawtuxet partners been established these Mashanticut lands would have been theirs, but the claim was not established. The first English settlers of Mashanticut were John Harrold (or Harrud), Roger Burlingame and Thomas Relph (of Relf, or Ralph). It is not easy to fix the bounds of these Indian localities, nor indeed their area, but apparently the present suburban village is not upon this Indian locality.

Roger Williams in his Key to the Indian Language gives Mishquatuck as meaning "a cedar tree". He also gives the word Mish-tuckquash as meaning "trees". Mashantuxet was a name given to certain Indian lands near Groton, Conn., about 1695 (Conn. Col. Rec.). Moshantatut was used in a Deed here in 1672. Mashan-

tatuck was used in a law brief written by Edmund Calverly in 1672. In these litigations the name Pawquaburke was sometimes given to these same lands. In 1699 George Potter made an agreement with his wife concerning "land scituate at Mashantatuck in Providence" (Prov. Early Rec. 5, p. 9). There are many other records touching these lands, but they are inconsequential. Mr. Williams gives the Indian word Mihtuckquash as meaning "trees".

MISHQUOMACUK, OTHERWISE SQUOMACUK—MUSQUAMACUK.

(28)

It was the Indian name by which Westerly was known. Roger Williams says it means a red fish; a salmon (Indian Key, 137). This tract was sold by the Sachem Socho to Robert Stanton, William Vaughan and three other men on the 29th June, 1660. Great opposition arose against this sale, largely aided by the Great Sachem Ninigret; but every living Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts affirmed the justice of Socho's title. The most interesting evidence is a statement made by Wawaloam, wife of Miantinomi. She said: "I, Wawaloam, do affirm it to be Socho's, \* \* my uncle Ninegrad sayeth that it is his land; I, Wawaloam, do utterly deny it before all men, for it was conquered by my husband Miantinomi and my uncle Canonicus long before the English had any wars with the Pequots; my uncle Ninegrad had no hand in the war; this land was given to the valiant Captain Socho for service done for us before the English had any wars with the Pequots." (Potter's Early Hist. Narr. 248.) The same statement was made by Pessicus, who was a brother of Miantinomi; both statements were made in June, 1661. This matter is still further stated in the note herein on Aspanansuck. Roger Williams used this name in a very interesting connection. On the 18th June, Mr. Williams gave a Testimony relative to his first coming into the Narragansett country. In it he explains all that he could learn of the meaning of the name Narragansett; his explanation appears under Nahigonset in these Notes. In the 6th v. Narr. Club the name at the head of these Notes is printed Musquomacuk (page 407); the editor cited Knowles's Memoir, p. 411, where it appears in the same form. The

original document is now here. In it the name is clearly written, as it stands at the head of this Note. The original spelling of the word in the Deed was Misquamicoke. But this comes from Potter (Early Hist. Narragansett, 1835, p. 242). It was taken by Potter from the Westerly Records; but by whom written on these Records, and when written, and how correctly, nobody knows.

## MASHAPAUG.

(12)

The name Maushapog, thus written, occurs in the original Deed. It was an Indian town, and must have stood on the banks of a large pond. This pond was then known as Mashapaug. "Lands lieing at Mashapaug" was the common form of expression in the early deeds. The name as applied to a brook was an innovation. (See Papaquinepaug here following.) Mashippaug was one of the villages of Eliot's Praying Indians.

## MINACOMUC.

(29)

It is an island located on the map in Charlestown; it has been located in Westerly. Both locations are correct, for Charlestown was a part of Westerly until 1738. Hence the island has been in both towns.

## MATATECONIT.

(11)

Was a name given to a large meadow land northwest from Providence (Early Rec. II, p. 75).

## METAUBSCOT.

(17)

Was an Indian village in Warwick. Concerning such villages Roger Williams says: "In the Narragansett country a man shall



come to many towns, some bigger, some lesser; it may be a dozen in twenty miles travel" (Indian Key, 33).

## MOSKITUASH.

(15)

It is the name now given to a brook, or small creek, which flows into the Bay west of Popanomscut, or Peebe's Neck. Mr. Williams gives the word Maskituash as meaning "Grass, or Hay". But the name at the head of this note is defined as "a place of reeds and rushes" (Bicknell's Hist. Barrington, p. 11). Men ought to have more regard for Roger Williams, and for his knowledge of the language of the Indians, than to expose his ignorance with such rudeness.

The present writer has been charged with using this word, on his Indian map, as being Indian, when it is merely a corruption made from the English word mosquito. Massasoit in his Deed to Bradford and others in March, 1653, of Government lands describes it as "a iltle brook of water called by the Indians Morskituash" (Fessenden's Hist. Warren, R. I., 57). Even if the charge that the word came from the Spanish mosquito was true, it would be no reason for the omission of it. The "Indian Key" by Roger Williams contains the word "Chicks" as being Indian for Hens; moneash as being Indian for English money; neatsuog, for neat cattle; cows-nuck, for cows; goatsuck, for goats; hogsuck, for hogs; naynay-oumewot, for horse. This word came from the neighing of the animal; and shottash, for the discharge of a gun, or for shot. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether the English generally knew the word mosquito; but Roger Williams knew it when he compared the action of John Whipple to "a muskeeto on your face or bosom". (R. I. Hist. Tract, Ser. 14, p. 43.)

## MANIPSCONASSET.

(17)

Was the name of a large rock in the Pawtuxet river, a mile above the bridge over the Pawtuxet (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser. 17, p. 104).

## MOOSHAUSICK.

(6, 13, 12)

The name, clearly written as above, is in the original Deed written by Mr. Williams. Great changes in its structure have since been made. Here are the original forms on the Town Records, 1658: Moshausick, Mowshausuck; in 1662, Moshosick. Trumbull says: "The name being so variously written, its original composition is uncertain". He says it "denotes either Great Brook or Great Marshy Meadow". It would seem to be safe to accept as genuine the manuscript Deed which Mr. Williams wrote, and which is still almost perfect. The name written in 1642 by Samuel Gorton and printed in *Simplicities' Defence* (London, 1646) was Mooshawset.

## MATUNUCK—MATTOONUC.

(27)

This name is variously given to a neck of land and to a small river northwest from Wayanitoke, or as we now know the place, Point Judith. Roger Williams gives the form Yo-mt-unnock, and meaning "to the right hand," as used in travelling. This name, on the Walling map, 1854, is given to a brook which apparently flows into the most northerly part of Point Judith pond.

This name dates back to about 1662. It was given both to a "neck of land" and to a river. In these two forms it appears in the Land Evidence Record 1, 438. The original manuscript is among the State archives in Providence. There are the usual number of varieties in spelling.

## MASCACHUGE—MASCACHUSETT.

(17-22)

This name was given to a point of land at the extreme south of Potowomut and also to the small river which forms the southern bound of that peninsula. The near approach of the second form above to the name of an adjoining State is owing entirely to Eng-

lish corruptions. That form was, however, used in the Rhode Island printed Records (v. 3, p. 55). Mr. Arnold in the reprint of the Fones' Records gives five forms, all very corrupt; but Potter (Hist. Narrag., p. 58) sustains Arnold. The fault was in the first recorder. A far better record of the Deed to Atherton of 11th June, 1659, can be seen in the Connecticut Colonial Records (v. 2, p. 540), where it was prepared by Mr. Trumbull. The pond in the south of Westerly (28), written Massachaug, is the same word in another form. So also is the stream Moscachuck near Nahet (18). Mr. Trumbull says these words all came from Muskechuge, meaning "a place where rushes grow".

Madam Knight, the Boston lady who, in 1704, made the journey from Boston to New York by the Pequot path which led through the Narragansett country, has left a very interesting Private Journal, which has been twice printed. I will transcribe a few references to her travel in Rhode Island. Having left Providence, "we came to a river which they generally ride through; but I dare not venture; so the 'post' got a lad and cannoo to carry me to tother side and hee rid thro and led my horse; the cannoo was very small and shallow so that when we were in she seemed redy to take in water which greatly terrified me". "Hee (the postman) told mee there was a bad river we were to ride thro which was so fierce, a hors could sometimes hardly stem it; but it was narrow and we would soon be over. I cannot express my concern of mind \* \* I perceived by the hors's going we were on the descent of a hill, twas totally dark with the trees that surrounded the bottom, but I knew by the going of the hors we had entered the water which my Guide told me was the hazzardos river he had told me of, and hee riding up close to my side bid me not fear, we should be over immediately. \* \* I gave reins to my nagg, and sitting as stedy as just before in the cannoo in a few minutes got safe to the other side, which hee told me was in the Narragansett country". Madame Knight had crossed the Mascachuge river.

MASSACRE OF 2ND JULY, 1676.

(17)

On our map we have located the scene of this awful massacre on

the south bank of the Pawtuxet river, below Natick. The place is not known; it was about seven miles from Providence. A troop of Connecticut mounted men, 300 in number, accompanied by several bodies of Mohegan and Pequot Indians, came suddenly upon the last remnant of the Narragansetts. Magnus, or Quiapen, the Squaw Sachem, was their leader. Major Talcott was in command. Three hundred were killed or captured, among them Quiapen and all her counsellors (Hubbard's Indian Wars, 1677, p. 97). It was a massacre (S. G. Drake, Book of the Indians, Book 3, p. 65). The Reverend Gentleman, Hubbard, describes it as "the greatest blow given to the Narragansetts". Thus he narrates the delightful pleasantries of that New England Sabbath. For the 2nd July, 1676, was Sunday. "Amongst the rest of the prisoners then taken was a young and sprightly fellow. The Mohegans desired the English commander that this young fellow might be delivered into their hands that they might put him to death, *more majorum*; that is, in order that his death might be more painful, they would torture the sprightly young fellow. The English, though not delighted with blood, were not unwilling to gratify their humor. They first cut one of his fingers round in the joint at the trunck of his hand, with a sharp knife, and then break it off; then they cut off another and another till they had dismembered one hand of all its digits, the blood sometimes spurting out in streams a yard from his hand; they dealt with the toes of his feet as they had done with the fingers of his hands, all the while making him dance round the circle and sing till he had wearied both himself and them; at last they brake the bones of his legs, after which he was forced to sit down which tis said he silently did till they knockt out his brains." Then continues the Reverend gentleman: "Instances of this nature should be incentive unto us to bless the Father of Lights who hath called us out from the dark places of the earth" (Hubbard's Indian Wars, 1677, unpagged postscript, 143). The clergyman should have continued: "In order that we might permit such work to be done, by Connecticut Indians, in the barbarous town of Warwick, R. I."; and then these prayerful clergymen went back to Boston and described the damnable civilization which Samuel Gorton had planted in this barbarous wilderness.

## MINABAUG—MINABAUGE.

(28-29)

Is a name applied indiscriminately to two inlets from the sea, in the earliest records of these two towns.

## NINEGRET'S FORT.

(29)

This name has been given in my own time to the earthworks, on the sea shore in Charlestown. It must have been a Dutch trading Fort, of about 1656. Near by, on Chemunganuck, is another similar earthworks of interest in a military sense against the Indians towards Connecticut. Ninegret had no use for such works.

## NAMCOOK.

(24-27)

Concerning the Indian name, *Namcook*, which name was applied in sundry forms to that land which subsequently became known as Boston-neck. It is that land along the western shore of Narragansett Bay from Wickford to Narragansett Pier. *Namcook* is a corruption by the English from the Indian *Nameock*. Here are some of the forms used by the English: *Namcocke*, *Namocke*, *Nao-muck*, *Nameok*; these are given by Judge Potter (*Early Hist. Narragansett*, p. 304); there are no references to original sources, but we can safely vouch for the accuracy of Judge Potter. The following are from Mr. James N. Arnold's edition of the "Fones' Records": *Namecockenecke* (p. 3), *Namcock* (p. 21), *Namocock* (pp. 6, 101), *Namecock* (p. 41). The first of these Fones' forms bears date 1659-61, the last one, 1685. Still other forms are given by Dr. Usher Parsons' "Indian Names," thus,—*Namacoke*, *Noo-muck*,—words which Dr. Parsons says signifies "a bank," which is doubtless without any foundation. Dr. J. H. Trumbull, in his "Indian Names in Connecticut," gives no word, *Namcook*, but he gives *Nameock*, with these variations—*Nameaug*, *Namecocke*, *Nameugg*, *Nameacke*, *Nammiog*, *Namyok*, all of which, Dr. Trumbull says, refer to New London, and mean "Fishing Place," or

"Where fish are taken." This is doubtless a correct definition. Williams gives in his "Key to the Indian Language," Namans as the Indian word meaning "Fish." Nameok is beyond question the correct Indian for Namcook, and it was and now is a place "where fish are taken." As to its application to New London, Dr. Trumbull is good authority, and so, too, is Roger Williams. Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut dwelt at New London, and for many years Williams was a frequent correspondent; all Williams' letters to Winthrop were addressed in one of these three forms, Nameug, Nameaug, Naumeug. Namcook was bought from Coginaquand, 11th July, 1659, by the Atherton Company. The purchase was in violation of a law of the Colony, but Atherton denied the jurisdiction of the Colony. The Charter of 1663 affirmed the jurisdiction, and placed the lands in control of Rhode Island. The King's commission then came and set aside the Atherton Deeds because of a lack of consideration. A few years later the General Assembly affirmed the Deeds to the living members of the Atherton Company. Tower Hill, once one of the most celebrated localities in Rhode Island, is a part of this Namcook land.

## NASAUKET.

(17)

I strolled unknown along the neatly kept avenues of a pretty seaside village; picturesque cottages covered the yellow sands of the beach and great hotels looked down paternally upon the little cottages lying around. Groups of men were gathered under the verandahs of the great hotel smoking their fragrant *Soberanos*; while, reclining in every conceivable style of easy laziness, were groups of women in lovely costumes beneath the piazzas of every cottage. The scene was enchantment itself. I was on the land *Nasauket*, and I wondered whether the native Narragansett, could he look upon the scene, would recognize the lands which he once loved so well; and I bethought me of the ceaseless play of the waters along the sandy beach, and that even now these waters were playing just as the Narraganset saw them play two hundred years ago, and just as those who follow us as we shall follow the Narraganset, will

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see them ceaselessly flowing. I was at the Buttonwoods and at the Oakland Beach. I looked at the new civilization and fell at once to a comparison with the ancient barbarism which it had succeeded, and I wondered whether these men and women, so restful, so peaceful, so quiet, and so happy, ever thought of the terrible struggles and afflictions, the years of painful sufferings, which their ancestors in these very fields endured, to the end that these men and women might find that peaceful quiet, which in lapse of years they found, and which I now saw around me. I am minded to tell the story. The sturdy Englishmen had dwelt nearly a dozen years on the lands of Showomet at perfect peace with the barbarians, but in a condition of perpetual war with their brethren, the Englishmen of the Massachusetts Bay. It was in 1642 that they came, and in 1653 it was when they bought from the Narragansetts these lands at *Nausaucaut*, or as we now call them, Oakland Beach and Buttonwoods; names which to my antiquated notions have no melody comparable with *Nasauket*. Not being learned in Indian linguistics, I cannot explain the meaning of the term; but Roger Williams gives the word, *Nasaump*, which he says was a thickened clam broth; this place was once famous for its clams, and I can but think that the two words are akin. In May, 1653, *Nasauket* was bought from the Indians for £12, 10s., and an agreement made with them "for the way of fencinge in the fields." This £12, 10s. was to be paid in peage, at four or eight the penny, as the peage was black or white. Thus, if the white man paid the Indian in white peage, he gave him 24,000 pieces, but if in black peage, he gave the Indian but half the number, 12,000 pieces, for this land of *Nasauket*. Another way or means of counting peage was used in the payment for Showomet, or, as we now call it, Old Warwick. There were twelve purchasers, and each gave twelve fathoms of peage, in all, one hundred and forty-four fathoms, as the old deed says.

Within a mile of the Buttonwoods hotels stood the house of a settler of Showomet upon which during a mid-winter night, in 1643-4, the Christian people of Boston kept a continual fire of musketry upon its defenders. The sole purpose of these Christian gentlemen was to wrench these fair lands from the English owners. The tale seems incredible. Humphrey Atherton led the assault.

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More details of these matters will be found under the name Showomet herein described.

The Indian of this period was a very different creature from the degenerate beasts of a subsequent age. The people looked upon them without fear, in fact, employed them in many ways; they guarded the cattle in the woods, and found them when lost, both services for which they were well fitted, both by nature and by habit. They could hunt and destroy wild beasts, an intolerable trouble for the settlers. Wolves were terribly destructive to young cattle, goats and swine. The Indian could kill the wolf, but for this service the white men paid him only forty shillings, while they paid a white man for the same service eighty shillings. Thus, it was worth just twice as much to get rid of a wolf by the hands of a white man as it was by an Indian. For one "great gray wolf," a terrible scourge, the settlers offered five pounds, and John Sweete killed him. There is a very ancient house still in excellent condition at Buttonwoods in which there dwelt Mr. Henry W. Greene. In one of the bedrooms of this ancient house there is a very small window. From this little window Mr. Greene's grandfather used on moonlight nights to shoot the wolves when they came howling too near for quiet sleep. This house must have been one of the earliest built after the great destruction by the Indians, in March, 1675. The old stone castle, as they now call it, but which was, in fact, the stone house of John Greene, in which lived Joanna, who died, as I have written, was the only house left by the Indians. This stone house was torn down in 1795, and the stone used for the cellar of a house still occupied by the family of George Anthony, just by the Old Warwick Post Office. In the field by this house is the grave of John Wicks; certainly one of the most singular graves in Rhode Island. The story runs thus: It was in 1675, Philip's war was just breaking out. The people had sought shelter in the house of John Greene. Mr. Wicks, a very "ancient man," as an old chronicler writes, but who was, in fact, but sixty-six years old, went out at night to seek his cattle; his people tried to dissuade him, but long habitation among the Indians had disarmed Mr. Wicks of any fear of them, a temerity which cost his life. He came not home at night, and the next morning his head severed from his body and thrust



on a pole was found in front of the house. The head was buried in a distinct grave before the body was found, which happened on the day succeeding; thus, two separate graves were made and have existed almost to this day. In fact, they can still be discovered.



*Form of the grave of John Wicks.*

It was on these same Nasauket lands that Captain Prentice, on the night of December 27th, 1675, the same year of John Wicks' murder, burned every wigwam of every Indian village, whereby Pomham and his few followers were driven to destruction by the very men who had used them to destroy the English.

Poetic Justice with her lifted scale  
In spite of men does in the end prevail.

#### THE NIPMUCK COUNTRY.

The Nipmucks, or ~~Nopnats~~, or Nipnots, or Neepnucks, or Neepmoogs, as the name is variously spelled, occupied a territory covering the northern portion of Rhode Island, extending to and beyond Worcester, and thence southwesterly into Connecticut, even to the banks of the Connecticut river. Roger Williams, in a letter to John Winthrop in 1637, writes of the "further Neepmucks" (Letters, p. 28), and the "hither Nipmucks" (Letters, p. 29). He says, Wunnashowtucket is the place of the "further Neepmucks," and that there "the enemy shelters and has forts," and he tell Winthrop that these Indians are equi-distant from Providence and Boston. Trumbull, in his *Indian Names*, has this word Wunnashowatuckqt, which locality he says is in Worcester county, and says the word means "at the crotch of the river, and probably refers to the forks of the Blackstone."

If by the forks of the Blackstone, Dr. Trumbull means the place where the Branch river falls into the Blackstone, it would be just on the border of Massachusetts and northwest from Woonsocket a

short distance. In the year 1637 Williams writes of a battle between the "further Neepmucks" and the "hither Nipmucks," and gives the result as a victory for the "hither Nipmucks." (Letters, pp. 38, 47.) Mr. Drake (Book of the Indians, Book 2, p. 100,) gives a record of actions by the commissioners of Massachusetts, in which occurs mention of an Indian battle at Quabakut (now Brookfield, Mass.), which attack is described as "a hostile invasion of Wosamequin (Massasoit); from this, Mr. Drake argues that at some period Massasoit dwelt among the Nipmucks, having left the Pokanoket lands, (Bristol) to Wamsutta. This jurisdiction, but not the dwelling of Massasoit in this district, is confirmed by Roger Williams, by an agreement with Massasoit concerning a tract of land; the agreement was "to buy the right which Ousamequin pretendeth to a parcel of land which lies between our bounds at Pawtucket and an Indian plantation northwest from thence, called Loquassuck" (Annals of Providence, 566).

It is stated in Drake's "Old Indian Chronicle," page 64, that both the Narragansett and the Wampanoag tribes laid claim to this portion of the lands of the Nipmucks; and it appears by a letter written by Mr. Williams in 1668, that "the Nipmucks were unquestionably subject to the Narragansett Sachems" (Letters, 326). From all this it is clear that wherever else the Nipmuck lands lay, a part lay certainly in the northeastern part of what is now Rhode Island; and it is stated in the older histories, that one cause of trouble between those tribes consisted in the desertions from the Wampanoags to the Nipmucks, at this very spot which was the frontier, or border land of each tribe. From these facts may have arisen the word which Mr. Tooker says means "at the place of meeting." History thus corroborates philology. To fix the precise location of Loquassuck is now impossible.

NAMQUIT—CONIMICUT.

(17)

Projecting into the waters of Narragansett Bay from its western shore, in the town of Warwick, are two points of land. The most northern of these Points, on all recent maps or charts, bears the

name Gaspe or Gaspee Point. The most southern reaching out towards Nayat, and stretching nearly half way across the Bay, bears the name Conimicut on these maps or charts. Upon one of these Points the British armed schooner *Gaspee* was destroyed during the night of June 9th or 10th, 1772, by men from Providence. The vessel while in pursuit of another ran aground, as I have stated, on one of these Points. I am going to discuss the question which Point it was upon which the vessel grounded.

The map of Rhode Island, by Caleb Harris, the first made after the Revolution, in 1795, places the name Gaspe Point to the most northern of the two Points.

One of the men who assisted in the destruction of the British ship was Ephraim Bowen, then a young man twenty years of age. In 1839, Mr. Bowen, then in his 87th year, printed in the newspapers his recollections of the affair (which took place after midnight of June 9th, sixty-seven (67) years before. Mr. Bowen relates that "the chase (of the sloop *Hannah* by the *Gaspee*) continued as far as Namquit Point, which was off from the farm in Warwick about seven miles below Providence now owned by Mr. John Brown Francis, our late Governor." From these times to the present, the name Gaspe, or Gaspee, has been placed on all maps or charts on the northern Point, while the name *Namquit* as applied to either Point has entirely disappeared. In all the Documents concerning the affair, *Namquit* is the place always named. It was so by Mr. Bartlett (Hist. Dest. Gaspee, 1861, pp. 16-21). It was so in the Deposition of Dep. Gov. Sessions (same vol., p. 77). It was so in Lieut. Dudingston's account (same vol., p. 34). But Dudingston spelled the name *Namcutt*. But on no map can the name be found, neither ancient nor modern. Nevertheless, the name, in the common understanding, as applied to a Point in Narragansett Bay, extending from Warwick into the waters of the Bay, actually then (1772) existed. There were three localities in Rhode Island to which the name Namquit, or Nanquit, was given by the Indians. First, to a Point in Narragansett Bay; second, to a pond in Tiverton (Blaskowitz chart, 1777); third, to a neck of land projecting from Tiverton (35) into the Sugkonate passage, and the cove which it produced. This latter locality is named Fogland Point, on the latest Govern-

ment chart, 1878. Upon examining the same charts concerning Conimicut Point, it will appear that the same natural conditions prevail. Fogland extends 1200 yards into the waters of the East Passage. Conimicut projects 1000 yards into the Narragansett Bay, both making coves. The same natural conditions prevail. If Namquit was good Indian for the Fogland Point, it must inevitably be given to Conimicut. This latter name was first given to Points to which it is now attached by the King's commission, on the boundary questions, on their chart of 1741. (Mass. Senate Doc. 14, January, 1848.) I come now to the conditions of navigation. The British ship was in chase of the sloop *Hannah*, the latter much the smaller vessel and drawing much less water. One writer says, "The *Hannah* crossed Namquit where there was water enough for the sloop, but not enough for the *Gaspee*" (Staples, *Annals of Providence*, 229). Relying upon the most recent Government surveys, Gaspee Point gives 22½ feet of water 900 feet from the shore; the Point below, Conimicut, gives only 7 feet of water 2550 feet from the land. The slightest examination will show the improbability that Lieut. Dudingston would run his vessel entirely out of her course, with no possible hope by so doing of overtaking the *Hannah*, she having by this act the interior lines, and the *Gaspee* the exterior lines. This is only true, however, of the most northern point. But at the lower Point, Dudingston's course would have given him the interior lines had he succeeded, and would have assisted him in overtaking the *Hannah*. Moreover, the broad waters between the *Hannah* and the western shore were most seductive to the adventurous sailor. History must have transposed the locality; the *Gaspee* must have grounded on the lower point. In order to have grounded the *Gaspee* on what is now put upon all the maps as Gaspee Point, Dudingston would have been obliged to have run his vessel entirely off her course and within 300 or 400 feet of the land; and had he not run aground, he would have destroyed all possibility of the capture of the *Hannah*.

Not long since George L. Raymond published a little book of verse entitled *Ballads of the Revolution and Other Poems*. There are seven of these ballads, written with the intention of "representing the spirit and reasons leading to the Revolution." Two of them

relate to events which took place in Rhode Island: the Destruction of the *Gaspee*, and the Capture of Prescott; trite subjects enough, certainly, but never so well handled as now by Mr. Raymond. He has kept as closely as he could to historical verity, and illustrates his verse quite fully with notes. These notes are taken, mainly, from Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*. The ballad recites,—(p. 27):

“When off of Nauquit Point,  
Shrewd Lindsey knew his ground;  
He steer'd afar, and clear'd the bar;  
Then turn'd his ship around.”

The authority cited by Mr. Raymond is Bancroft's Hist. U. S. for the word *Nauquit*. He also says Lossing gives it *Namquit*. In the account of the affair by Col. Bowen, and in the deposition of Dep. Gov. Sessions, the latter form of the word is used. In Mr. Bancroft's the error was typographical and was corrected in the recent editions. The word is now written *Conimicut*. In this form it appears on the *Blaskowitz* Chart (1777). At a much earlier date, on the chart of the King's Commissioners (1741), it is written *Kenemicut*.

## NIPSACHOOK.

(5) (17) (1)

This word appears thrice upon our map, as stated above. In the first, which is Gloucester, Dr. Parsons applies it to a hill, now known as Wolf Hill. It is written by Parsons Nippsatchuck, and again Sachuck. From a letter, written by the Rev. James Fitch, to the Connecticut Council, 29th May, 1676, concerning the movements of the Indians, he states: “They have planted at Nipsachook, nigh Coweset.” (Conn. Hist. Col. 2, 447.) Mr. Trumbull, who edited this volume, writes the word, on page 448, Nipchossuck. He also on the same page reproduces a letter written by Major Talcott on the same day, 29th May, 1676, in which the word is written Nip-sochoke. It is a fine illustration of the “less corrupt forms” which Trumbull claims for these Records, as against Dr. Parsons, which is referred to in the note on Notaquonckanet herein. It was this

tract, Nipsachook, which was crossed by Quaiapen and her company the day before they were all butchered by Major Talcott and his men in the massacre of 2nd July, 1676. The name Nipsachet is given to a swamp in Burrillville. Whether the word is the same I do not know. Another illustration showing the same corrupt spelling in the Connecticut Records which Trumbull alleges as against the Rhode Island work is shown by the name Pototuke, a tract of land in Connecticut so written (Conn. Col. Rec. 2, 75). But Mr. Trumbull in his index gives the name written Potatuck.

## NANTUSIUNK—NOMSUSMUC.

(33)

It is the small island in the harbor of Newport now called Goat Island. It was sold by Cojonoquant, a son of Canonicus, to Benedict Arnold in May, 1658. At this time there was general buying of all the islands in the Narragansett Bay which remained in possession of the Indians.

## NIANTIC LANDS.

These lands lie in the southwestern corner of Rhode Island. They were tributary to the Narragansett Sachems. Canonicus and Ninegret were related to each other. Sheganishkachoke, or Sheganiscalhauk, was a name given to some of the lands. It was for the possession of this small tract by Massachusetts and Connecticut that so much trouble occurred. It was claimed by right of conquest in the Pequot war, the only ground for such a claim being that two or three Pequot Sachems had married Niantic squaws and lived among the Niantics. (See Roger Williams's Letter to Major Mason for a minute statement.)

## NANAQUONSET.

It is the name of an Island, just below Wickford, now called Fox Island. It was bought by Randall Holden and Samuel Gorton in 1659. The name is also written Nonequasset. The Island was also called by the Indians Azoiquonset, and in the Fones' Records, Arnold's reprint (p. 79), it is called Sonanoxet.

NISWOSAKET, NOW WOONSOCKET.

(2)

The writer will suggest a new and original opinion concerning the original of the word, Woonsocket, a name of a city in Rhode Island; but touching the meaning of the word, the writer gives no opinion, but will simply give you what other men have uttered. The name came, by process of evolution, from the Indian word, Niswosaket, and the writer will briefly give the reasons for this opinion. Down to the year 1659, all the lands lying along the southern bank of the Blackstone river, as the name now is, were Indian lands; in that year William Harris and his coparceners, as part of an infamous land conspiracy, obtained by means of wampum three new deeds from the Indians; these deeds these men called "confirmation" deeds,—which means that they *confirmed* the forgery which somebody in the interests of said Harris and his coparceners had perpetrated upon the original deed to Williams from the Indians. By those men in Providence who opposed the schemes of Harris, these deeds were declared to cover *new purchases* of the lands of the Indians. My own opinion coincides with this latter view; but whichever view is held the result is the same; by these instruments all the lands north of the north line of Warwick (save those covered by the first purchase), and south of the Blackstone river, and west to Connecticut, came into the possession of the "men of Providence and the men of Pawtuxcette;" hence that portion of the city of Woonsocket now lying south of the Blackstone river, was purchased by the town of Providence, or for the town, to speak with more exactness, in 1659. Those lands lying north of the Blackstone river, and as far north as the Massachusetts southern line, came into the possession of the colony of Rhode Island by a decree of the King of England in 1746; previous to that date, these lands, or at least those nearest to the present site of Woonsocket, formed a portion of the Massachusetts town, Mendon; but Mendon was not incorporated until May, 1667; previous to that time this land was known by the name, "Plantations of Netmocke," or, as now commonly spelled, Nipmuc; this land was bought by two men, viz., Moses Payne and Peter Brackett, from the Indians, in September, 1662,

and it was held by them until the 12th May, 1670, when it was transferred to the town of Mendon by order of the General Court of Massachusetts Colony. Hence the land on which the city of Woonsocket stands, lying north of the Blackstone river, was Indian lands until September, 1662; was owned by Payne and Brackett until May, 1670; was within the town of Mendon until 1746, from which time it has been within the jurisdiction of the Colony and State of Rhode Island. Such is the history of the acquisition of these lands.

Let me now return to 1660, the time when William Harris and his coparceners were planting the seeds of his infamous scheme to enrich himself by fraud at the expense of his neighbors, and which happily failed. While these "confirmation" deeds—which were all obtained between May and December, 1659—were under discussion, Roger Williams, in a letter to the men of Providence, suggested in case they wanted more lands, the purchase of another plantation, offering himself to be one of twenty men to buy it. "Let us consider," he said, "if Niswosaket and Wayunckeke, and the land thereabout, may not afford a new and comfortable plantation." (Williams' Letters, p. 315.)

Concerning Wayunckeke we have knowledge; it is the well-known hill in Smithfield now spelled Wionkeige. Concerning Niswosaket nothing further is known; it is the first and only appearance of the word in the early annals of the Colony. Lying just north from Wayunckeke, and between that hill and the Blackstone river, rises another and greater elevation of land, one of the highest hills in Rhode Island; this was doubtless Niswosaket. In 1682, twenty-two years subsequent to Williams' letter, appears the name Wansokutt attached to this particular hill; the origin is obvious; by the elision of "Nis" the name becomes Wosaket, and by adding "n" the word became Wonsaket, which form is, phonetically, just what it has since that time always been. The writer will give you the evolution of the word; but first let me refer to the spelling Miswosaket, given by Staples (Annals of Providence, 571, 573). The word was given first, in recent times, by Knowles (Life of Williams, 404), thus, Niswosaket. Staples copied from Knowles in 1843, giving "Mis": Bartlett, in Col. Rec. 1, p. 39, gives "Nis"; and again, Narr. Club. v. 6, p. 315, "Nis," for which he quotes *himself* in Col. Rec. and



Knowles, as here cited. In the absence of the original letter a positive conclusion cannot be reached; it is probable that Staples made a typographical error, but whether it is "Mis" or "Nis" it has no bearing upon this inquiry. The Hill was the same, and is still there. Now for the evolution of the word, giving first the form, to what applied, when so applied, and the authority:

- Wansokutt. .Hill. .1682. .Providence Early Records, V. 8, p. 118.  
 Wansaukit. .Hill. .1682. .Trustees to set bounds, Richardson's History, p. 32.  
 Wansokett. .Hill. .1699. .Providence Early Records, V. 4, p. 160.  
 Wainsokit. . "Inman" land. .1699. .Providence Early Records, V. 6, p. 195, Stephen Arnold's Will.  
 Wansokut. .Hill. .1704. .Providence Early Records, V. 4, p. 110.  
 Wansocut. .Hill. .1704. .Providence Early Records, V. 5, p. 230.  
 Wansoket. .Land. .1708. .Providence Early Records, V. 7, p. 3. Richard Arnold's Will.  
 Wansocott. .Lands. .1716. .Providence Early Records, IX, p. 29.  
 Wansocutt. .Hill. .1718. .Nath. Mowry's Will, Mowry Genealogy, p. 20.  
 Wansokett. .Div. Mowry Lands. .1719. .Providence Early Records, IX, p. 25.  
 Winsokett. .Quaker Meeting. .1719. .Records of Providence and Mendon Monthly Meeting.  
 Winsokett. .Iron Mill. .1720. .Richardson's History of Woonsocket, p. 55.  
 Wonsocut. .Fall. .1736. .Colonial Records, V. 4, p. 514.  
 Wainsokett. .Falls. .1748. .Richardson's History of Woonsocket, p. 68.  
 Winsokett. .Arnold's Saw Mill. .1750. .Richardson's History of Woonsocket, 1876, p. 60.  
 Wansoket. .Bridge. .1759. .R. I. Acts and Resolves, March, p. 5.  
 Wonsoket. .Falls. .1762. .R. I. Acts and Resolves, March, p. 105.  
 Woonsocket. .Bridge. .1762. .Lottery Ticket.  
 Woonsocket. .Village. .1795. .Harris's Map of Rhode Island.  
 Woonsocket. .Public School. .1810. .R. I. Acts and Resolves, February, p. 16.

- Woonsoquett. .Falls. .1819. .Pease & Niles Gazetteer, p. 348.  
 Woonsocket. .Village. .1819. .Lockwood's Map, Rhode Island.  
 Woonsocket. .Falls and Hill. .1824. .Tanner's Atlas.  
 Winsokeit. .Fresh corruption. .1846. .Newman's Numbering of the  
     Inhabitants, p. 7.  
 Woonsocket. .Arnold's Saw Mill. .Richardson in Woonsocket *Patriot*,  
     March 7, 1873.

The spelling "Woonsocket" given by Staples (*Annals of Providence*, p. 428,) and by Richardson's *History of Woonsocket* (p. 77) as being in the Quaker Records, 1719, is erroneous; the word is given in the original record as it appears above.

The spelling "Woonsocket" in the "Index to Indian Names," *Prov. Early Rec.* IX, 224, is an error; the word is not in the text, but is in a foot note supplied by the commissioners who edited the volume.

This extraordinary list is brimful and running over with information and suggestion. Remember, it gives the form of spelling, to what it applied, and when, and the authority. It applied, as herein claimed, to a hill, to land; not to a "Falls," nor to water. It was a locality; so likewise did Niswosaket. It was never specifically applied to the "Falls" until 1736. It is beyond question that until water power came actively into use, and under control, which could not be until men settled there, the "Falls" were of secondary consideration, and that the plantation lands around Woonsocket (as we now write it) Hill were *first* considered in all transactions from 1682 until 1736. From that time the importance of the "Falls" grew greater, while the "Hill" grew less; and hence the name went from the "Hill" to the "Falls," and not as Dr. Trumbull has written, from the "Falls" to the "Hill." This is direct evidence; there still exists a species of evidence in the *History of Mendon* which may be called indirect, which, nevertheless, is strongly corroborative. As herein shown, Mendon was given jurisdiction in 1670; a survey of the town was made in 1683; the bounds were as follows: "Starting upon Charles River and running four miles wanting forty rods, to the northeast corner at a stake and stones in Hoppin's meadow; thence turning and running westerly to the northwestern corner one

hundred rods beyond the Great River (now the Blackstone) eight and one half miles; thence turning and running due south eight miles to the southwest corner to a chestnut tree upon the northern side of a great hill; thence turning easterly about three miles to the Monhegin (now the Branch) river, crossing it several times, and so on to the Great river upon the south side of the Falls, and then with the said river to the Dedham line." (Annals of Mendon, p. 89.) It will be observed that the name now given to these Falls was not then so applied. November 21, 1698, the selectmen of Mendon met to give the proprietors now "*ingaging to erect a Saw Mill at the Falls upon the Great River (now the Blackstone) free liberty to cutt Timber.*" (Metcalf's Mendon Annals, p. 132.) It will be observed that even yet no name is given to the Falls or to the locality. September 27, 1703, a tax was assessed on the property of "John Arnold and ye rest of ye owners in ye Saw Mill." (Annals of Mendon, p. 146.) Still the locality *had no name*.

In 1710, a deed was given by Seth Chapin to John Arnold, of land thus bounded: "By the Gréat (alias the Nipmuck) river, by the Saw Mill on the east; southerly upon said river; westerly part on said river, &c.; northerly on common; easterly upon common down to the river, with an allowance for a roadway to the Saw Mill and to the wading place below the Falls." (Richardson's Hist. Woonsocket, p. 17.) Still these Falls had no name. Here are constant references from the Annals of Mendon for seventy-six years to these Falls, but never with the name Woonsocket, no matter how spelled, but always so pronounced, applied to them. This, as is herein claimed, is strong corroborative evidence of the correctness of the positions herein taken.

Let us now come to the meaning of the word, not as an opinion of the writer, but the opinions of other men. First came, in 1846, Mr. S. C. Newman, who published a little book about Woonsocket, entitled "Numbering of the Inhabitants." On page 7, Mr. Newman gives the "etymology, definition, and history of the word Woonsocket" after this manner: "A word by which they (the Indians) expressed one of their ideas of thunder was *Woone*, and a mist was expressed by the term *Suckete*; a simple union of these two terms would produce the word *Woonesuckete*." It most certainly would,

and in case Mr. Newman was correct, Woonsocket would mean *Thundermist*. But unfortunately for Mr. Newman's theory, Roger Williams in his "Key into the Indian Language" informs us that *Neimpauog* was the word which the Indians used for thunder; in which case it could not have been *Woone*. The discharge of a gun, which the Indians likened to thunder, they described by the word *peskhommin*, it thunders. There is no foundation possible for Mr. Newman's fancy, or invention. Mr. Williams is the only actual authority. So also it is with Mr. Newman's etymology: "the whites barbarized the word into *Winsokeit*, and next modernized it into its present form, Woonsocket." So far as yet discovered, Mr. Newman is the first and only barbarian who ever wrote the word *Winsokeit*; but concerning his last statement there cannot be the slightest doubt; the word has been modernized into Woonsocket.

In 1872 Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull read a paper before the American Philological Association on the Indian Local Names in Rhode Island; this paper was only partially printed in the *Transactions* of the Society for that year; but in my own possession is a much more complete abstract of this paper, which Dr. Trumbull corrected for my own use; it is in effect his own manuscript. He gives the word *Woonsocket*, which he says signifies "at the descent, or below the falls." Fifteen years later Dr. Trumbull comes again to the subject. He gives three varieties in spelling, all of which are comprised in the list herein, and are of the dates 1736 and 1819, and then he says, "The name belongs to the Falls and to the place of the Falls." It comes from the *Woomsu* (Narra. Waumsu), to go downwards; *Waumsu*, down hill (R. Williams); compare *Woomsuonk*, a steep descent, and *Woomsuonganit*, at the cliff (Eliot in 2 Chron. xx, 16). *Woomsauk-it*, easily corrupted to Woonsocket, denotes "the place of steep descent," or "going down"; perhaps the "Hill" was not named independently of the Falls, from a steep descent." (Perry's Rhode Island Census, 1887, p. 53.) Concerning this, Mr. Perry says: "It will hardly be called in question by the scholars of the country." I do not propose to arrogate to myself the title of one of "the scholars of the country"; nevertheless, I propose to question the accuracy of Dr. Trumbull's derivation.

He says in the paper on *Local Indian Names in Rhode Island*,

"Half the Indian names in Rhode Island are so much corrupted as to defy analogies." Possibly Woonsocket may be one of them. Then he gives the form *Woomsauk-it*, which he says "was easily corrupted to Woonsocket." It certainly might have been so corrupted, but where does he find the word? It certainly does not exist in our records. It is itself a construction. While Niswosaket is a name actually applied by Williams; we do not have to theorize or to invent a form; it exists. Again, Dr. Trumbull says Williams gave the word *Waumsu*, and meaning "down hill," which is true; but "down hill" does not mean water flowing down a river, nor does it mean a fall of water, nor has it anything whatever to do with water; it is a word of travel down hill. (Key to Indian Language, Narr. Club ed., p. 102.) It is strange that so acute a mind should have failed to see these things. When Dr. Trumbull says, "perhaps the Hill was so named independently of the Falls, from a steep descent," he gives probably the exact reverse of the fact. He has not shown, nor can it be shown, that the Indians ever had a name for the Falls. The name Woonsocket came in some form from the Indian language, but it is one of evolution by the English settlers. The list which is herein given is positive proof of these facts.

There is one other definition which appears in the books. It is given by Mr. Richardson in his "History of Woonsocket," p. 26, as being made by Dr. Ariel Ballou, who thought it meant "Pond on the Hill." There is indeed a pond on Woonsocket Hill from which the outflow must have "descended" somewhere, and to which Dr. Trumbull's interpretation might as well apply as it does to the Falls. If Dr. Trumbull is correct in his definition, Dr. Ballou came very close in his "Pond on the Hill" idea.

## NATICK.

(17)

Concerning this word there has been within recent years several published expressions of opinion, both as to its origin and the meaning of the word. One of these opinions, although published in 1901, has but recently come to my notice. The title of it is, "The Significance of John Eliot's Natick, and the name Merrimac, with his-

torical and ethnological notes, by William Wallace Tooker." It is because of what is therein printed concerning the village of Natick in Rhode Island that I now discuss this matter.

The name of the manufacturing village, Natick, as it has been some time spelled, is undoubtedly of Indian origin. Upon a manuscript map of the country around it, once in my possession, made about 1683, the name is spelled Nacheek. In his Key to the Indian language, Roger Williams gives the words, *Nekick*, as meaning "my house"; *Kekick*, your house; *Wh-ick*, at his house; and this fine compound word, *Nickquenum*, as meaning "I am going home"; the accent being on the second syllable, the word is pleasing to the ear and would make a very appropriate name for somebody's dwelling on these Narragansett lands. Concerning it Mr. Williams said: "It is a solemn word amongst them; and no man will offer any hindrance to him who, after some absence, is going to visit his family, and useth this word *Nickquenum*; confessing the sweetness even of these short temporal homes." It is evident that Natick has come down to us from *Nekick*, the Indian dwellings, there when the Englishmen came from across the sea.

These were my own original opinions and I still hold to them. If the derivation, or the corruption of the word, is correct, then the meaning is clear. The Natick of the "praying Indians" of Massachusetts was in the valley of Charles river, about eighteen miles southwest from Boston. The "praying Indians" laid the foundation of the town in 1651. "They named it Natick, which signifies a place of hills" (Francis' Life Eliot, 1836, p. 162). It was to occupy both banks of the river (p. 163), and hence naturally was *not a place of hills*. It was a low and level country lying in the town of Dedham. It was ten years after the settlement before an Indian church was established (p. 202). But even then no church was organized. Upon examination only *eight* Indians "might be first called to enter into church covenant; but even this small number were not called until 1666 (Francis Eliot, 202). As early as 1653, according to Eliot, so great had been the progress of the Indians in English theology that "two little children, under three years of age, had died, showing, as he (Eliot) believed, great *manifestation of faith*" (Francis' Life, 191). The religious tales of

this "praying" settlement are scandalous and, as the writer believes, unworthy of any credit. After twenty-four years of existence there were but twenty-nine families of Christian Indians living in Natick—this in 1674; they continued to decline until in 1763, but thirty-seven souls remained (Spofford's *Gazetteer*, 249). Eliot had received the appointment of Daniel Gookin and Humphrey Atherton, as magistrates—certainly a precious pair. The Indian tribe there dominant was the Nipmuc; at the very time, this same tribe existed, and was dominant across the northwestern corner of Rhode Island; the precise bounds of this domination cannot be given; but that it existed here, is outside of any discussion. It may have covered a part of Warwick. It certainly covered the lands at present known as Burrillville, Glocester, Foster, Scituate, and North Smithfield. James Savage, in the edition of Winthrop's *Hist. New England*, 1853, gives a list of Indian localities, and names "Nipmuck river" as the Blackstone (Winthrop's *New Eng.* 2, 478). Under such conditions how can Mr. Tooker prove by conclusive evidence that the *Natick* of the Massachusetts Nipmuc had not the same "*origin and derivation*" (both words meaning precisely the same) as the Natick of the Rhode Island Nipmuc? The very act of tracing the "origin" is showing the "derivation." I consider Mr. Tooker's position upon the question of "origin and derivation" as indefensible. Both names came from the same tribal language, and their meaning was the same. But concerning their meaning, I will presently come to a discussion.

Mr. Tooker then quotes the late Amos Perry, a man here, who never gave the slightest study of the language of the Narragansetts; nor to that of the Nipmucs; and absolutely no study whatever to a comparative study of the two. Mr. Tooker, continuing, "There is a village in Rhode Island bearing the same name (John Eliot's Natick), and mentioned in Dr. Parsons' *Indian Names of Places in Rhode Island*." The Hon. Amos Perry says, "Its Indian name was *Nittauke*, which stripped of its superfluous letters (one *t* and the final *e*) and anglicized became Natick." I deny the statement that a village, now called Natick, in Rhode Island, was ever known or called *Nittauke*; and I further deny that this word, minus one *t* and the final *e*, thus, *Nitauk*, becomes, or ever became, Natick. This



note by Mr. Perry comes from "Book of Minutes of Col. John Jones," edited by Mr. Perry. (Pamphlet 18, Box 258, in the Sidney S. Rider Collection, now in Brown University Library.) On page 14 of this pamphlet Mr. Perry also printed a letter by D. G. Brinton, which is downright destruction to his (Perry's) theory concerning Nittauke. But Mr. Tooker does not reproduce Brinton's destructive criticism.

Mr. Tooker continues: "An early notation has been brought to light and published; it is displayed on the plat of the land comprised in the original purchase of the Providence Plantations made about 1677 in the form Na-cheek, and in a declaration made the same year 'a place called ye Indians Natick or Nachick'" (p. 18). This refers to one of my own publications (Hist. Tract, Sec. Ser. 4, p. 100). There was never any original purchase of the Providence Plantations. But that was my own error, in so fixing the name of this plat. On this plat appears the name Na-cheek. In no other place in Rhode Island publications does this name so again appear. It is merely the whim or ignorance of the man who made the plat. He was a surveyor of land, but not an Indian linguist.

But the unfairness of Mr. Tooker in printing opinions to sustain his views appears in these few words, "and in a declaration made same year a place called by the Indians Natick, or Nachick" (page 18).

This "declaration" was nothing less than the "Declaration in the case Pawtuxet Partners vs. John Greene and the town of Warwick." It was written by William Harris in October, 1677.

Mr. Harris had at that time lived forty-one years in the closest contact with the Indians of Rhode Island; he was in continual and incessant contact with them to obtain their lands. No man knew them better than did Mr. Harris. In the Declaration which was prepared under the orders of the King—Harris used this language, "At or near ye place called by ye Indians Natick, or Nachick" (R. I. Hist. Tract, Sec. Ser. 4, p. 86).

In effect Mr. Harris states that the Indians, in 1677, he living among them, and being within four miles of the Indian village Natick, "called that place Natick or Nachick." Hence both were synonymous. But for Mr. Tooker to say "This indicates positively



to students of the language that Na-cheek was nearer to the true native pronunciation than Natick," it is sheer audacity. He continues, "The Narragansett *Na-cheek* (there never was any such word) or *Nachick*, is the equivalent of the Massachusetts Nashik (Eliot, Jeremiah, xlix 14-32), 'a corner,' and was bestowed on Rhode Island soil because the locality was 'a boundary place'—'a corner'—where the lines met in some conveyance of lands by the Indians, to the whites; or else was 'a corner' or some Indian path, or trail" (pages 19, 20).

In the first of these two paragraphs Tooker states that the former Nacheek was nearer the true native pronunciation; but in the latter the two forms are equivalent.

The idea that Natick was "a boundary place" or "a corner" is sheer nonsense. He derived this idea from the imaginary lines drawn by the draughtsman of the plat of 1677, which I first published.

These lines indicate what somebody, to wit, the Pawtuxet Partners, wanted, but which they never succeeded in obtaining (Forgeries Connected with the Original Deed, by Sidney S. Rider, 1896).

The definitions of the word Natick are positively ridiculous. Perry gives one by *Deacon Ephraim* thus, "When asked the meaning of the word Natick, this Indian is *reported* to have promptly replied, 'It is a place of hills'" (Perry's Jones' Book of Minutes, p. 13). This Indian Deacon was a servant of Deacon Jones between 1760-1801. As an authority he was worthless.

Perry declares that Natick and Nittauke were the same, meaning 'my land' (Book of Minutes, 13).

Brinton suggests, "as a place of observation some knoll near Natick, R. I., was prominent enough to receive the appellation" (Book of Minutes, 14).

Tooker defines it, "a boundary place"—"a corner," an idea with positively nothing behind it. This is his language: "The Plat shows distinctly that Na-cheek as spelled was a corner on the Pawtuxet river where several lines terminated. The river at this particular point makes quite a noticeable turn, first flowing southwest and then abruptly turning southeast." All of which is pure nonsense—the plat shows no such corners, nor do such corners exist.

These "several lines" which "terminated" on the Pawtuxet river had nothing whatever to do with Natick, or Na-cheek, as the man who drew the plat chose to write the name. There are twelve of these lines which terminated on the Pawtuxet, but not one of them, according to the plat, touched exactly the location of Natick.

Tooker gives also this definition: "The place of our search" (page 32). He also informs us that Eliot used the form Natick and Natik (page 21), and that it meant "fetches he" (page 29).

Mr. Downs, a Town Clerk, once in New Hampshire, gives the meaning of Natick as "a clearing"—"because the grass was cut, and the timber felled." Who ever heard of an Indian cutting the grass? And yet that was soberly printed in the Proceedings of the R. I. Hist. Soc., v. 2, 262, in 1894. Here Mr. Downs cites Potter, a New Hampshire Judge, defining the word as meaning a clearing. He also cites Rasle, who defines it being *Natauke*, and meaning a clearing. Rasle could not have known, having been dead a century and a half, that Amos Perry would have defined it as meaning "my land". Mr. Downs makes still another citation. A clergyman named Ballard gives Natick as being synonymous with Naddock, and meaning "an intervale."

Now after this clear and elaborate setting forth—what do you know; or what does anybody know concerning the meaning of the word Natick? Positively nothing.

Mr. Perry used this expression, "The town of Natick, R. I." (Book of Minutes, 14). This has been followed by Mr. Tooker (page 11). There was never any such town in Rhode Island.

There were two places in Massachusetts named Natick; one in Middlesex County, the other on Martha's Vineyard (Tooker, page 19), besides the one here in Rhode Island.

The form Natchic appears in the Acts and Resolves, Oct., 1742 (page 14).

Mr. S. G. Drake defines the word as meaning "a place of hills" (Book of the Indians, 1841, page 114, Book 2). But Mr. Drake could never, at that time, have heard of Deacon Ephraim's definition which Mr. Perry gives, defends, and then admits is worthless. (Book of Minutes, page 13.)

Nachecot was a name given to a bridge over the Pawtuxet river,

in the town of Warwick. It was at or near Natick (Acts and Resolves, Feb., 1769, page 84).

## NINE MEN'S MISERY.

## (3)

The story connected with this spot is almost wholly legendary. It was told first by Mr. John Daggett (Hist. Attleborough, p. 51) in 1834, and it has now crept into all the histories, until now it is told with much detail; but all these details are the work of the imagination. Some twenty years ago the writer asked Mr. Daggett, a very aged man at the time, to give to the writer the authorities on which he had founded the story. This he did in an elaborate manuscript. It rests, as I have said, upon legends. These legends have assumed this form: During the Pierce massacre nine men were captured by the Indians, taken north to "Camp Swamp," there tortured and murdered; later their bodies were found by the people from Rehoboth and buried. Mr. Daggett visited the spot a century and a half later, talked with the people then living in the neighborhood, and wrote his story. He describes the spot and the heap of memorial stones piled upon the grave. This must have been about 1830. Mr. Daggett in his manuscript told of the dis-interment and about the skull of Bucklin with double teeth which was then exhumed. These teeth filled the jaws; there were no "single" teeth. This identical story was at the very time running the rounds of the newspapers about William Morgan, whom the Freemasons abducted and murdered. It can be found in Niles' Register (3rd November, 1827, p. 146). The grave of these nine men was then on the farm of Elisha Waterman. In 1866 I myself visited the spot and saw it exactly as John Daggett described it; but it is all gone now, having been moved north not less than a mile. Legends and locations are migratory. Leonard Bliss published his History of Rehoboth in 1836, two years after the story told by Mr. Daggett was published. Mr. Bliss entered more elaborately into the story (page 94), but no authentic record supports the tale. The Daggett manuscript mentioned above is now in the Sidney S. Rider Collection at Brown University.

## NOOSENECK.

(23)

In the town of West Greenwich, R. I., there is a locality known as *Nooseneck*. It is one of the post offices of the town. The singularity of this name has often excited curiosity. The only attempt at an explanation, so far as I know, is to be found in the so-called *History of Rhode Island*, 4to, 1878, p. 342, in these words, "The word Nooseneck is said to have been derived from the setting of running nooses for catching deer in the Nooseneck Valley." Whatever may be the derivation of the word, this explanation is, of course, nonsense. I therefore propose advancing a theory of my own concerning it. The tract of land designated by the name *Nooseneck* is a narrow neck lying between two small streams, which unite and become tributary to the Pawtuxet. As you approach the sources of these streams, the land rises to a considerable height, and is known as Nooseneck hill. The narrow neck, which consists of the lands through which the streams flow, is an exceedingly beautiful valley. The name Nooseneck is affixed to this locality on Benoni Lockwood's map of Rhode Island, made in 1819, where it is printed as here written. I have been peculiarly struck by the pronunciation by the residents, of this name, and I have frequently inquired the name of the locality for the purpose of observing this singularity. They invariably pronounce it Noozeneck, pronouncing the s like z. This appears to me to possess peculiar significance. There was once held in the Narragansett country a large tract of land by Harvard University. On this tract was a fresh water pond which appears in the old records (1675) by the name *Noozapoge*. This word, Mr. Trumbull informs us, came from two Indian words, *noosup* and *paug*, which mean beaver pond. Mr. Williams, in his Key, defines *noosup* as a beaver. The corrupt spelling in the old record indicates the pronunciation, which the inhabitants of Nooseneck have unconsciously preserved down through generations. Their name arose no doubt from this Indian word *noosup*, beaver. The small rivers with their beautiful valleys became the home of the beavers. The sites of their dams are very numerous. Hence the locality became known as *Noosup neck*, corrupted in time as we now see it. I have noted

this pronunciation by peculiarity in spelling, in a pamphlet printed here in 1831, thus, *Neusneck*. That this spelling is corrupt appears from the Lockwood map cited above, and printed thirteen years previously. Hence it is significant only as indicating the pronunciation of the period.

There is one other point upon which I wish to touch. There has been a suggestion to me that the name arose from the transmission of *news* by means of signals on top of the hill. Had this been the case, how came the word *neck* to be used in naming a hill? Moreover, this hill is far inland and not in the line for communication with any specially important point; and, moreover, it is quite clear that the term "Nooseneck Hill" followed the use of the term "Noose-neck Valley." The valley was *first* named, hence the use of the word *neck* was a rational use. This, of course, is simply a theory sustained by such arguments as could be easily brought to bear upon it, but it seems plausible and certainly worth consideration until something better can be set up. The neck bounded by the two streams mentioned above is well shown with the name Noose Neck affixed on the Harris map of Rhode Island made in 1795.

1—NANHIGGONSICK. 2—NARIGANSET. 3—NAHIGONSET.

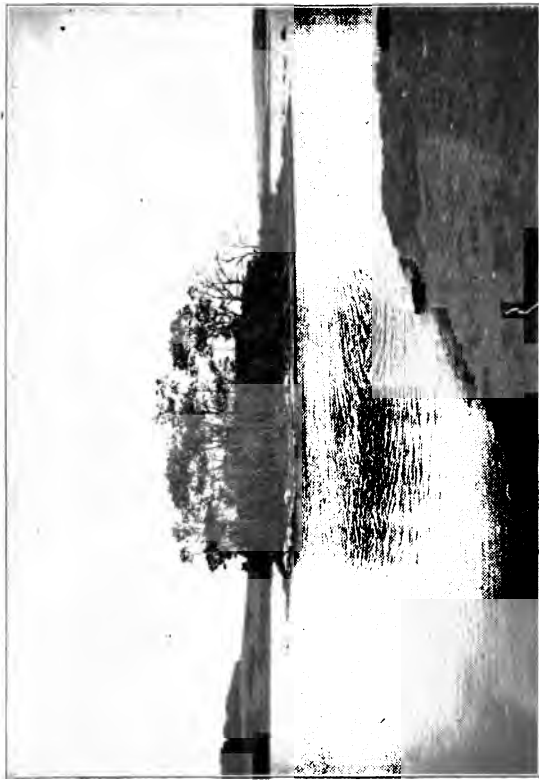
4—NANHIGONSET.

(27)

These are four forms of the name now written Narragansett, taken from original manuscripts written by Roger Williams, save only the second, which is taken from the *Key to the Language* of the natives, printed in London, 1643. The first is from the original Deed given to Williams in 1638. The second is from the *Key*, as aforesaid; and the third and fourth are from the manuscript Testimony of Roger Williams relative to his first coming into the Narragansett country, given 18th June, 1682. This manuscript is now in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

In the edition of Mr. Williams' *Key*, edited by J. Hammond Trumbull (Narr. Club 1, 82), there is an elaborate note by the latter concerning this word. He cites the five following forms,





THE LITTLE ISLAND "NAHIGONSET."

from letters written by Mr. Williams, and printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Ser. 4, v. 6:

Nanihiggonicks—Nanhiggonicks,  
Narriganset—Narrogonset  
Nahiggonicks.

These forms have not, so far as I know, been recently compared with the original manuscripts.

Edward Winslow in his "*True Relation*," published in London, 1624, speaks of the "people of Nanhiggonset". Here I am obliged to follow the reprint by Mr. Young (*Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 1844, p. 285), never having seen the original edition.

Samuel Gorton, one of the most learned men then living in New England, wrote in 1646: "In their subjection of themselves and their lands to the English Crown in April, 1644, the Sachems describe themselves as 'the Princes, or Governors of the Nanhiggonset'." Again,—"*Declaration hereof unto his Grace, being done upon the Lands of the Nanhiggonset*". Again,—"*They (the Massachusetts Bay Colony) having expelled us (in 1643) there being onely a little island called Road Island situate in Nanhiggonset Bay from which they had not expelled us*" (*Simplicitie's Defence*, London, 1646, pp. 76, 82, 83).

Winthrop, writing in 1646, concerning the extermination of the Pequot tribe, said the Massachusetts troops "set sail and came to the Narragansett, where they landed their men" (*Winthrop's Hist. New Eng.*, Ed. 1853, v. 1, 233). This landing was at what is now Wickford. It took place in May, 1637.

In 1629 the Earl of Warwick, under Charles the First, gave to William Bradford a new Patent covering "the lands from Conahasset rivulet, towards the north, and the River, commonly called Narragansetts River towards the south". This *River* is now the Narragansett Bay. This is the proof: "From the mouth of said river called Naragansetts river to the utmost Limitts and Bounds of a Country, or Place in New Englande commonly called Pokenacutt, alias Sowamsett" (*Hazard's Hist. Col.* 1, 300).

"There is a Tract of land in the Continent of America aforesaid called by the name of the Narragansett Bay" (*Charter of 1643 as given in R. I. Hist. Coll.* v. 4, p. 222).



These are the earliest forms of writing or spelling the name Narragansett. The last three specimens are not to be relied upon as being the genuine spellings used in the original manuscripts; they are used for another purpose. A note here concerning the first Plymouth Patent, that granted in November, 1620, by James the First, is interesting to Rhode Island students of history, by reason of the claims made under it upon the lands of Rhode Island. No landmarks or boundaries are indicated in this Patent other than from the Fortieth (40th) to the Forty-eighth (48th) degrees north throughout all the maine land from sea to sea, together with the Firme lands, Soyles, Rivers, Waters, Royall Mines of Gold and Silver, &c., and all and singular, other Conditions, Royalties, Preheminenes, &c., both within the same tract of Land upon the Maine, and also within the said Islands and seas adjoining (Hazard's Hist. Coll. I, 111). The King undertook to grant a strip of the Continent Five Hundred and Sixty miles wide, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. This abused omission of territorial limits was the great cause of the charter of Charles the First, of 1629, granted to William Bradford in his individual right, and which for eleven years he held. The western bound is given above; it does not reach to the waters of the Narragansett, but to the utmost limits and bounds of a country or place called Pokenacutt *alias* Sowamut. This did not include those Indian lands. Notwithstanding this limitation Plymouth claimed the lands and the islands in the Bay, and these claims Massachusetts continued after the absorption of Plymouth and until the King's Decree of 1746.

Concerning the origin and meaning of the name Narragansett, Roger Williams has left us this interesting note:

"I also profess that being inquisitive of what 'roote' the title, or denominative, Nahigonset should come, I heard that Nahigonset was so named from a little island between Puttaquomscut and Mishquom acuk on the Sea and fresh water side. I went on purpose to see it, and about the place called Sugar Loaf Hill I saw it, and was within a Pole of it, but could not learn why it was called Nanhigonset" (Original Manuscript, 18 June, 1682; now in the possession of the R. I. Historical Society).

Saving some convulsion of nature, "this little island" must still

exist where Mr. Williams saw it. Let us attempt to find a spot which it seems strange no one has ever attempted to find. It is an island on the *sea and fresh water side*"; it is near Sugar Loaf Hill"; and it is between Pettaquamscut and Mishquomacuck". That means that the island is in *fresh* and *salt* water, between what is now South Kingston and Westerly. Such conditions place it at the head of Point Judith Pond—"about a place called Sugar Loaf Hill". This Hill is a well-known landmark near the village of Wakefield, and one mile northwest from "the little island". The location is thus fixed at the head or northernmost part of Point Judith Pond, and on the western shore. There are two small islands answering these requirements. One bears the Indian name, *Cumnoc*, and the other has been nameless. It is the Isle Nahiganset. Mr. Williams says he "was within a pole of it". A pole was sixteen and a half feet. Upon an ebb tide Mr. Williams could easily have approached within a pole of it, for now, while there is very little ebb, or flow, of the tide, the depth of the water varies from eight to fifteen inches. Under any condition of the tide Mr. Williams could not have approached within a pole length of any other island than that which is here identified and existing in Point Judith pond and on its northwestern shores.

Mr. Trumbull has written an interesting note on the word and its meaning, which I venture to reproduce (Narr. Club 1, 82). Speaking of Mr. Williams' note, above printed, Mr. Trumbull says: "It may be hardly prudent to venture a conjecture as to the signification of a name whose origin Roger Williams failed to discover; yet I may be permitted to suggest that *nai* "having corners", and *naiag*, or *naiyag* (as Eliot wrote the word), 'a corner,' or 'angle,' gave the name to many points of land on the sea coast and rivers of New England, e. g. Nayatt Point in Barrington, R. I. (18), and Nayack in Southampton, L. I., etc.; *Na-ig-an-eog* (or Nahiganeuck) would signify 'the people of the Point, and *Na-ig-an-set* the 'territory about the Point.' Possibly one of the islands in Point Judith pond may have received the name". Mr. Trumbull continues by remarking that the name was applied "possibly to one of the many indentations or points of land running (more properly extending) into the pond; or possibly, again, the *great* Point Judith". All this

is ingenious, but not worth present consideration. Mr. Williams has declared that the name was that of "a little island". Conclusively, then, it did not apply to a point, nor to the people of a Point, nor to great Point Judith. If the name meant what the speculations of Mr. Trumbull suggest, is it conceivable that Roger Williams did not know that fact? The Nahigonsets were not *the people of the Point*, for Mr. Williams bought Moshausic lands from their Sachems; these lands were those on which Providence was planted; and the Narragansett tribe was dominant over all the lands now known as Rhode Island. All that we know of this tribe, or shall ever know, is what happened subsequent to 1620; all before that time is mere speculation. Roger Williams says that the name by which the Narragansett tribe knew itself was Nanhiganeuck (Narr. Club 1, 82, Indian Key). Mr. Trumbull says that Nahiganeuck "would signify the People of the point". Why did not Roger Williams state such a fact, if such a fact then existed? Mr. Williams says "the endings *uock*, *uwock*, *uwog*, in general, mean Folke, Men, People". But that certain particular endings, or, for instance, *euck*, *oock*, *oog*, meant the same. In other words, different Indians in utterance gave different sounds; so different English ears expressed these sounds by various and different letters.

Na-ig-an-eog is not Nanhigonset; both forms may not have meant the same to the Indians. Mr. Trumbull suggests an island in Point Judith pond as the origin of the name; but Mr. Williams has deliberately stated that "it *was* a little island". How, then, could the people around this island be called "the people of the point", while they covered all the lands, or nearly all the lands, now in Rhode Island.

It is not necessary here to draw the line between sense and non-sense. I will merely give an illustration. In 1704 Madame Knight made her journey from Boston to New York along the Pequot path through these Narragansett lands. She slept a night at the home of a Mr. Havens, near Wickford. She complains of being kept awake "by some of the town tope-ers in the next room, who were entered into a strong debate concerning the signification of the name of their country, viz, Narraganset. One said it was named so by the Indians, because there grew a Brier there of a prodigious





THE LITTLE ISLAND "NAHIGONSET."  
Taken from a Tree Top.

height and bigness, the like hasdly ever known called by the Indians Narragansett. He quoted an Indian of so barbarous a name, for his author, that I could not write it. His antagonist replied—No,—it was from a spring it had its name, which he well knew where it was; which was 'extreem' cold in Summer, and as 'hott' as could be imagined in the winter; which was resorted 'too' by the natives, and by them called Narragansett—Hott and Cold—and that was the origin of their Place's name" (Journal of Madam Knight, 1825, 22, 23).

The "Little Island Nahigonset" is today an object of ideal beauty, considered as a picture representing actual scenes of land and sea. It lies in a beautiful cove, the eastern bound of which is Crown Point. The view, which is here presented, was taken for this use for the writer by Mr. J. Raleigh Eldred of South Kingston. It was taken high up in a tree in order to show that the object is an island. The dark land extending out into the pond upon the right is Crown Point.. The tree from which the picture was taken stands upon the estate of Col. Arthur H. Watson, and the Island Nahigonset forms a part of Colonel Watson's estate. In order to present a front view of this beautiful Island the accompanying picture has been taken. It was taken from a slight elevation on Colonel Watson's estate.

It is an interesting fact that Colonel Watson's first English ancestor in Rhode Island, John Watson, was an owner of an undivided interest in these lands. This ownership came in this way: John Porter, then of Boston, became, in January, 1657-8, one of the five original purchasers of the lands which became known as the Pettaquamscut lands. This name came from the Rock known to the Narragansetts by this name, and near or at which the purchase was made. The bounds of the purchase were, as in all these Indian Deeds, loosely defined they covered "all the land and the whole hill called Pettaquamscut, bounded on the south and south-west side of the rock with Ninegrets' land," etc. Ninegrets' land on the map herein were the Niantic lands; but there is no way of which the writer has knowledge by which the eastern or the northern bounds of these lands can be shown. All these Indian Deeds were given almost unbounded elasticity by the English purchasers.

But in this case elasticity was not required. This second Deed, 20th March, 1657-8, covered all lands "seven miles west from Pettaquamscut Rock, and all the lands between said rock and the sea" (Potter's Early Hist. Narragansett, 275, 276). Ninegret recognized this title on the 9th September, 1662 (Potter, page 277), and it covered the lands now known as Matunuck, of which the Watson estate now forms a part. John Porter owned a one seventh interest in the Pettaquamscut lands at the time of his death. This interest was bought by the Gardners and John Watson. The Gardners consisted of Benony, George, William, and Nicholas (Potter, 279). Henry Gardner became a prominent man in the foundation of certain towns which grew out of these Narragansett purchases, as, for instance, Exeter, West Greenwich, and the first Kingston. John Watson became prominent only in Kingston, and especially that part of Kingston now known as South Kingston; and it is in that town that he served the town in 1688; he was a Conservator of the Peace in 1690, and he served the town in the Colonial General Assembly in 1690-1691; and in this town a descendant now owns the "Little Island Nahiganset". "On the Post Road below Wakefield toward the road to Matunuck stands the Watson or Congdon house, with a stone chimney in the center. It may date back to 1690-1700. It is framed of cedar, and the summer runs Massachusetts fashion, that is across the room parallel with the chimney girt" (Isham and Brown Early R. I. Houses, 65).

## NOTAQUONCKANET.

## (9)

This is the name, written by Roger Williams in the Original Deed, given by the Sachems, of the first purchase, now Providence. It is the "norwest" boundary of the purchase. It was so written in 1638 and then for the first time in the history of the town. What purports to be a record of this Deed was twice made in the Providence Early Records—First in 1658 (vol. 4, p. 70), the name then spelled—Neotaconkonitt—Second, in 1662, then spelled—Neotaconckonett—The spelling by Williams in the Original Deed is exceedingly clear; why it was not followed is incomprehensible. If







THE "CANONICUS BOULDER" ON NOTAQONCKANET.

I have made no mistake, the volumes of the Early Records give us forty-two (42) forms of spelling the word, all copied, of course, and not written from the sound of the speaker. It almost seems as if ingenuity had been taxed to present these varieties. I present them as a literary curiosity:

Notaconkonott	Newtaquenkanet	Neotoconkonitt
Neataconconitt	Notaquonckanet	Netaconkonitt
Neataconkonitt	Notaquoncanutt	Noteconkenett
Nutaconquenitt	Notakunkani	Nudaconanet
Neataconcanitt	Notquonckanet	Nudaconanett
Neudaconkonet	Nutaconkenut	Nudaconkenett
Newdaconkonett	Neotaconckonett	Notakunkanet
Notakonkanit	Neotaconkanett	Notakunkanet
Nedaconconit	Noadaconqunat	Neoterconkenitt
Neotaconckcanett	Notacunckanet	Notaquoncanot
Neotaconkenitt	Notoconkanet	Newtaquunkanit
Neotaconquonitt	Nudaconganat	Newtakonkanut
Notoconkenett	Neotakonconitt	Notacomamet
Newdaconanet	Neotakonconitt	Neautoconconet
Nudaconanit	Neotoconkenutt	Neotakonkonitt
Nudaconanet	Neutaconenutt	Nuteconkenett
Notaquonckanet	Neutoconenutt	Newteconcanitt
Notakunkanut	Neutoconkenett	Notaconeanit
Neutaconcanut	Newtaconconut	Neutaconkanut
Neoterconkernitt	Neotaconkinitt	Notaconckanet
Nudaconganet	Neotakonkonitt	Neotaconckonett.

It is extraordinary that nowhere in the printed volumes of the Early Records does this name appear, as written by Williams in the original Deed, as it stands at the head of this note.

Dr. Usher Parsons gives in his "Indian Names" p. 18) the name, but with a still different variety of spelling,

NEUTACONCANUT,

and applies it to a "Mountain two or three miles 'South-west' from Providence."

If there is no intermediate error, Roger Williams has given us still

another variety in spelling. It occurred in a letter written by Mr. Williams, 27th October, 1660. He spells the word

## NOTAQUONCANOT.

Here I follow Narr. Club 6, 314. It will be noted that the phonetic qualities of the two forms given by Williams are almost identical. They were written the first in 1638; the second in 1660. There is an extraordinary error here in the printing of the volume. At the head of the letter is printed "For his much honored kind friend Mr. John Winthrop at his home in Nameag these," while the letter itself is addressed to his "Loving Friends and Neighbors"; and it was, in fact, written to the inhabitants of Providence. The way in which the blunder was made will be seen by one curious, by a reference to Mr. Knowles' Memoir of Williams (page 404). The heading belongs to a preceding letter, bearing the date, 11, 7, 48 (Sept. 11, 1648). The error was further continued in the table of contents prepared by the Editor of the volume, the late John R. Bartlett. The letter has disappeared from the archives of Providence. Mr. Knowles, who first printed it, did not state where it existed, and today its existence is unknown.

This extraordinary variety in spelling the name Notaquonckanet is characteristic of the structure of these names in Rhode Island—one scarcely knows which form to select. It is an excellent illustration of the correctness of the criticisms of Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull on Dr. Usher Parsons' "Indian Names in Rhode Island." Trumbull speaks of the Connecticut Records and the original Land transfers contained in them. These (he writes) supply many Indian names in forms less corrupt than those which were given to them by later recorders, and especially in the Documents from which Dr. Parsons' List was compiled (Trumbull's Indian Names of Connecticut XI). I cannot omit from my account the two forms given by Prof. Elton (Collections R. I. Hist. Soc. 4, 204). The learned author reproduces the Original Deed to Williams in which the name is clearly written as printed at the head of this note, by Mr. Elton,

## NEOTERCONKERNITT.

In a foot note Mr. Elton gives us another variation, thus

Neoterconkenitt. How it is possible to do such work is incomprehensible.

I now propose to consider Mr. Tooker's definition of the name of the hill which Williams gives in the first Indian Deed, and there written by Mr. Williams, Notaquonckanet. In *Book Notes* (v. 19, p. 81) we gave a few varieties in the spelling of this name. There were upwards of forty varieties in the published Providence Early Record. These cannot be considered Indian words. They are merely English corruptions of an Indian word. Nor can it be pretended that under such a variety in spelling the same meaning can be preserved. We use this form of speech as a direction to a child—write, rite, right. The sounds are so similar that no child could understand the meaning, and just so it was between the ignorant English and the uneducated Indian. There are not fewer than sixty-five different forms of writing this name.

In March, 1897, Mr. W. W. Tooker read a paper before the Historical Society on "Indian Geographic Names," with special reference to certain Rhode Island names. In this paper the gentleman attempts an analysis of the word at the head of this note, which, by the way, he writes "Notaquonchanet," thus adding a new variety to those which preceded. For the purpose of verification the reader may find Mr. Tooker's paper in the Publications of the Hist. Soc., Vol., 5, pages 203-215. After a very learned analysis of the word, which Mr. Tooker says "suggested a number of possible derivations," of which "none were conclusively satisfactory"—"a hint was discovered in the word 'shortbounds'" in Roger Williams' letter to John Whipple." For this letter Mr. Tooker cites (Pub. R. I. Hist. Soc., 3, 150, 151). Mr. Tooker then gives this quotation from the letter, "The Sachems, and I, were hurried, by the envy of some against myself, to these short bounds; by reason of the Indians at Mashapog, Notakunkanet, and Pawtucket, beyond whom the Sachems would not then go." By referring to his authority it will be seen that he has not followed his authority—Notakunkanet is printed Notakunhanet (Proc. Hist. Soc., v. 3, p. 150). But in another way he makes a very serious change. Mr. Tooker says "would not then go." His citation, Pub. Hist. Soc. 3, 151, says "could not then go." The word "hurried" was not used in the

modern sense. It came from the provincial English verb "to hurry," which meant "to lead." It meant that Williams and the Sachems were led to fix these short bounds, &c., &c. But Mr. Tooker has here omitted half a dozen words of the utmost consequence to a true understanding of the clause which he quotes. Mr. Williams wrote, "Themselves (the Sachems) and I could not be trusted without present (or new) bounds hurried on to their grief, and mine" (R. I. Hist. Tract 14, 27).

The term "short bounds" had nothing to do with the bounds of the first deed as they had existed. They were entirely different. They were the objects fixed upon by Miantinomi "in his own person" (R. I. Hist. Tract, Sec. Ser. 4, p. 48). These objects, or natural things, were "Sugar Loaf Hill, Buett's Brow, Absolute Swamp, Ox Ford, and Hipses Rock (Prov. Early Rec., v. 2, p. 72). These bounds were set after the Deed of 1638 and before Miantinomi was murdered in 1643. Probably in 1642. There were five of these "short bounds." Neither is mentioned in the Original Deed. But Notaquonckanet is mentioned in that Deed. Hence it was not "at the short, or scant bound." Thus the hill Notaquonckanet had nothing whatever to do with the term "short bounds." The fixing of these localities did not shorten the bounds, but extended them. In the case of this hill the bound was extended nearly a mile. Mr. Tooker then finds that the word Notakunkanet, thus giving me still another variety in spelling the word, to mean "at the short or scant bound." This meaning, Mr. Tooker says, he reached "according to the foregoing analysis." But Mr. Tooker is defective in memory, besides being untrustworthy in his citations. On page 211 he said, "A number of possible derivations suggested themselves in the course of study, but none were conclusively satisfactory *until* a hint was discovered in the words *short bounds* in Roger Williams' letter." This *hint* had no connection with the analysis so learnedly shown. Does the learned gentleman expect us to believe that the name Notaquonckanet was devised by the Sachems specifically to fit their Deed to Williams in 1638, and meant "at the short or scant bound," when there were no such bound considered or fixed? Was this name then for the first time given to this hill because it was "a short or scant bound?" Had it ever

before served the Indians as a short bound; and, in case it had not, why give it such a name? Notaquonckanet Hill had not the slightest connection with the term "short bounds" as used by Mr. Williams in the letter quoted, and written in 1669, nearly thirty years after the "short bounds" were fixed. A knowledge of the history of Rhode Island will quickly show the bearing of these facts upon Mr. Tooker's definition. The definition is ridiculous. The letter written in 1669 had reference to the fight of the Pawtuxet Partners in the struggle for the lands. The word "short bounds," or "shortened bounds," as Mr. Williams wrote in 1677 (Narr. Club 6, 390) had reference, solely in comparison, to the "Up streams without limits" appendix to the Original Deed, and to the "boundless bounds" (Hist. Tract 14, 27) of the Confirmation Deed of 1659. When this bound, Notaquonckanet, was given to this purchaser the number of the population was just seven persons. The area 15,360 acres of land—more than 2,000 acres to each individual man. Can that be considered "a short or scant bound?" Most certainly it cannot. These modern methods of defining words by an analysis, which cannot be shown with any conclusive logic, but by finding some natural object near by, as, for instance, Annawamscutt, which Mr. Tooker defines "as at the shell rock," and Opponaug, "a wasting place," and Quowatchaug as "the place of the tall tree," or Popanomscut as "at the shelter rock," are of no value.

## OBBATINUE'S CORNE FIELD.

In a deed of land given by William Arnold to his daughter Joane, the wife of Zachary Rhodes, one of the bounds mentioned is Obbatinue's Corne Field, another bound is Papaquinepaug river, and still another, but different from the last, is Papaquinepaug pond. These bounds, taken in connection with the remaining bound, renders the identification of the location of Obbatinue's Corne Field an easy matter. This last bound is described thus, "being bounded on the south, and part of the west sides with the great fresh river running down to Pawtuxet falls" (Early Records, v. 1, p. 80). The date of the deed is 1646. It will be noted that the river which we now call "Pawtuxet" was not then so called, the name applying only to the "Falls." This Indian Sachem's corne field was what

is now called Bellefonte, the sharp bend in the Pawtuxet river making the south and west bounds thereof. Papaquinepaug river was not Papaquinepaug pond; this latter was probably that water which is now called Fenner's pond, for the reason that Mashapaug pond was then, and is still, a well known water, and Cunliff's pond, the only other pond in the region, is an artificial pond, made in the past century, and hence has no Indian name. Papaquinepaug river "is the river that runnes out of Mashapaug pond" (Early Records, v. 1, p. 45) and flows through the Roger Williams Park, forming the beautiful chain of lakes therein, is enlarged by a dam into Cunliff's pond, and irrigating Obbatinue's Corne Field, enters the Pawtuxet river. Let me speculate a moment on this name Obbatinue. The name of this Sachem is not found in the histories of Rhode Island. So far as I now know this is the only reference to him in all our books. In Bradford and Winslow's *Journal*, a book usually cited as "Mourt's Relation," Mr. Young's edition, page 225, mention is made of an expedition from Plymouth to Shawmut (now Boston), and it is stated that the "Sachem or Governor of this place is called Obbatinewat." This was in September, 1620. It is also therein stated that this Sachem was a subject of Massasoit, within whose domain was Plymouth, and whose wigwam was at Sowams, now Warren, Rhode Island.

Obbatinue was then, probably, this same Sachem; the remove across the bay from the lands of the Wampanoags to the lands of the Narragansets, at Pawtuxet, was but a short one, or possibly Obbatinue had been led captive by a Narraganset wife; at all events he was a countryman of King Philip; and yet dwelt among the Narragansetts. He was from the first coming of the English, among their best friends. In Bradford and Winslow's *Journal*, the same edition cited above, page 232, it is stated that in December, 1621, some Indian Sachems led by Massasoit visited Plymouth and made submission to "oure Sovereign lord King James." Mr. Morton, in his *New England's Memorial*, p. 67, prints in full the document here referred to with the names of the Sachems attached; among them is Obbatinnua, but Judge Davis, whose edition I have here used, introduces in a note a slight variation, thus, Obbatinowat. Thus a charming bit of history is now added to the beautiful land

known as Roger Williams Park. Why not restore the name of the little river which "runnes" through it, to the name by which Roger Williams and Miantinomi knew it, Papaquinepaug; and name some romantic walk within it Obbatinue's path?

OCCUPESUATUXETT—COPESSUATUXIT.

(17)

The word *Occupesuatuxett*, which was a name of an Indian locality on the bay below Pawtuxet, has occupied the attention of sundry writers of Providence. The latest is X. O. D., who says: "Probably the earliest spelling of the word is to be found in the record of the deed, or gift of land, by John Greene, Sen., to his son, John Greene, Jun., which was dated 1644. \* \* The true interpretation of the word would appear to be the place below the first river, possibly because John Greene, Sen., was the first settler below Pawtuxet River." Another writer spells the word *Occupasnetuxet*; she (for a lady wrote the letter) does not define the word, but leaves that inference. She says it is "the Indian appellation of those level 'meadows through which the river flows'" (these two last quotation marks are the lady's); then she continues: "Shortened for convenience in conversation *Pastuxet*." Shortened by whom? Certainly not by Indians, but by the English, and hence not an Indian word, nor do I find it in the early records of Showomet. The Indian deed of Showomet bears the date 12th January, 1642. *Copessuatuxett* is the north bound, in *Sohomes Bay* (R. I. Hist. Coll. 2, 253). The John Greene deed I have not seen, but the date of it was Oct. 1st, 1642. It was transferred to the younger Greene, 25th September, 1644, and then spelled *Occupasuatuxett* (Prov. Early Rec. 2, 33). This form in the *Early Records* is taken from the manuscript copy written by the Town Clerk, Olney; the original is not accessible. The form in the Showomet original manuscript Deed is *Copessuatuxet*. This shows that the Greene form of spelling was not the earliest, and since we cannot produce the Indian deed to Greene, the Showomet deed remains the most ancient form. J. Hammond Trumbull, the highest authority in the Indian language in our time, spells the word thus:



"Copessuatuxit, or Occupessuatuxit, the north bound of Warwick purchase; it means the small harbor or cove on tide water." This definition explains the language of the deed.

## PAPASQUASH.

(20)

In 1669 John Gorum, or Gorham, of Plymouth petitioned that government "for a grant unto himself of One Hundred acres of land" \* \* "if it can be purchased from the Indians" (Plym. Col. Rec. 5, 20). Three years later, in 1672, Gorham with two other men, James Brown and Constant Southworth, were appointed a committee to purchase a certain tract of land of the Indians, granted by the Court to said Gorham, lying at Papasquash Neck (Plym. Col. Rec. 5, 95). Gorham served in the Plymouth Forces at the Great Swamp Fight, 19th December, 1675; contracted a fever, from which he died. In 1677 the Plymouth Government, in return for good service done by Gorham, granted the lands at Papasquash to his heirs forever. The earliest mention of the name appears in the Deed of Acquidneck (24th March, 1637-8). As printed in the R. I. Col. Rec. (v. 1, p. 45) it is thus spelled, Paupausquatch. The same Deed printed in the Portsmouth Records is spelled Pumposquatick (p. 56). After the grant of the Mount Hope lands to Plymouth by the King, in 1680, the lands were immediately sold, and in the Deed given by the Plymouth Government the name is spelled Pappasquash (Munro's Hist. Bristol, 61). The title to the English of the lands on Papasquash came by the Deed 28th March, 1653, given by Ousamequin; it was the third regular purchase made by the town of Rehoboth (Fessenden's Hist. Warren, 50). There is a note giving from the illustrations of spelling this name (Munro's Hist. Bristol, 66); but nothing further concerning its derivation or meaning. There exists a comical reference to this name in a letter written by Jeremiah Dummer in 1714. Mr. Dummer was one of the most distinguished legal minds in Massachusetts of that time. He speaks of Col. Byfield, the chief among the planters of Bristol, R. I. Both Drummer and Byfield were in London and were discussing the antipathy of Byfield toward Dudley, then Governor of

Massachusetts. Drummer writes: "I told him (Byfield) that both my duty and my inclination led me to stand by his (Dudley's) commission, with what friends and interests I could make; and he replied that he would; by the help of God, get him turned out, and therein please God and all good men. Accordingly we both have been pretty diligent, but I think he is now a little out of breath (immensely corpulent). His age makes him impatient of fatigues of application; and his frugality makes him sick of coach hire, fees to officers, and door keepers, and other expenses; so that I believe he now heartily wishes himself safe in his own government at Poppy-squash" (Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., 1st Ser., vol. 5, p. 193).

## POJACK—POTOCK.

(22)

This is the name given to a projecting point of land south of Potowomut. Its north bound is the stream Mascachuge. In March, 1776, the military defence of the Narragansett Bay was considered by the General Assembly, and among other places a force was placed on Pojuck point (R. I. Col. Rec. 7, 492-3). The following year, 1777, the Blaskowitz chart of the Bay was published in London and these defences on Pojack point were shown thereon. Concerning this name there is something curious. There are but two words in Williams's Key to the Indian Language in which the letter J. appears. It has occurred to me that the word may be a corrupt form of Potock (Hubbard, 1677, p. 55). Potock, or Potock, was the chief counsellor of Quaiapen. He dwelt on these identical lands, and was slain, according to Hubard, with his mistress, the Queen, July 2, 1676. Pojack must have come from Potock. There are things written in the New England histories concerning this Indian that lend interest to the study of his character. There was printed in London a tract, in 1676, entitled "A new and further account of the Bloody Indian war." The author writes (page 13): "Likewise Potucke, the Great Indian counsellor, a man considering his education of wonderful subtlety". He is again referred to in another tract, also printed in London in 1677, entitled "The Warr in New England visibly Ended" (page 2). "There is one Potuck, a mis-

chievous Engine, and a Counsellor". Concerning Potack's place of residence, Mr. S. G. Drake has expressed an opinion different from that which I have written. Mr. Drake "fixes his residence *in the vicinity* of Point Judith" (Book of the Indians 3, 77). This he attempts to show by citing a manuscript dated in 1661, "wherein Potock with several other chiefs complain of Samuel Wildbow and others of his company. These chiefs claimed jurisdiction at Point Judith, which this Wilbour had seized, as they claimed." But Mr. Drake is in error. Potock did not sign this protest (Potter's Hist. Narr. 277). But even in case he did sign it, it would not make him a resident. A residence, *in the vicinity*, is ambiguous. Mr. Drake makes another serious error concerning Potock. In his edition of Hubbard's Indian War (1865) he says, in a note (vol. 1, p. 75), in speaking of a treaty, signed at Pettaquamscutt 15th July, 1675: "Among other articles the Narragansetts by their agent, Potucke, urged that the English should not send among them any to preach the Gospel, or call upon them to pray to God. But the English refusing to concede such an article, it was withdrawn, and a Peace concluding." This statement Mr. Drake cites from "Gooking, History Praying of the Indians." Against this I object. First, there is no such writer as "Gooking"; second, that Gookin never wrote such a statement concerning the action of Potock in connection with the treaty mentioned by Hubbard. This treaty Hubbard prints (vol. 1, pp. 76-79). It was made 15th July, 1675. Gookin's "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," the only book ever printed which he had written, was finished 7th December, 1674. It was never printed until 1792, at which time it was printed by the Mass. Hist. Soc. in their collection, volume 1, pp. 141-230. Goodkin does not mention Potock's name, and he wrote more than a year before the treaty was made. There is in the treaty no evidence that Potock was present, or had any hand in it. The person who edited the volume, whose name I do not know, in a note says: "Their Sachems would not suffer the Gospel to be preached to their subjects". This was written in 1792, and there is no reference to Potock. It is an excellent illustration of the looseness in which New England history has been written. There is not the slightest doubt that the Narragansetts had good reason to keep

a "Praying Indian" who prayed under the guidance of Humphrey Atherton at a respectable distance; they were used by Massachusetts chiefly as spies. Potock was a savage, but he was a splendid savage. Atherton was a civilized man, acting under the direct guidance of God himself, all the while a treacherous scoundrel. Potock acted up to the full light of his conscience. Atherton was an everlasting liar.

Poatock, in 1661, testified to the integrity of the title of the Misquamicut lands in Socho, both for himself and as the representative of Pessicus, who was a brother of Miantinomi; and also for Scuttape, the grandson of Canonicus.

*Powetuck* witnessed an Indian Deed of land north from Cawcumsquisuck to Richard Smith in October, 1660.

## PAUTUCKQUT.

(13)

The name Pawtucket was first written as it stands above in the Original Indian Deed in 1638. Mr. Trumbull defined it as meaning "At the Falls". Parsons defines it as meaning "Union of two rivers, and a fall into tide water". This definition Parsons took partly from the following: "An aged Indian woman at Stonington in 1679 stated that the river near Mr. Blackstone's house is called in Indian Pautuck and signifies a fall because there the fresh water falls into the salt water" (Potter's Hist. Narragansett 266). There are fewer varieties in spelling this name than is the case with most Indian names. In a transcript of the *facsimile* of the original Deed in Paine's *Denial of the Forgery* the name is printed *Pautuckgut* (Pubs. Hist. Soc., v. 5, p. 208).

## PATUXETT.

(10)

The name Pautuxet was not mentioned by Williams in the original Deed. It first appears in the memorandum which was written beneath this Deed, and is there written as it stands above.

In the Arnold Forgery of this Deed of 1659 it was written in the body of the Deed thus, Pautuxett. The most corrupt form of which I now have knowledge is that which appears of record in a Deed given by William Arnold in 1645, thus, Pootatugock. It was recorded in 1674-5 (Prov. Early Rec. 4, p. 18). Mr. Trumbull defines it as meaning "at the Little Falls" and as being the diminutive of Pautuckqut.

## POCASSET.

(9—10)

The name Pocasset, spelled in many ways, is given to a river or brook running through the towns of Johnson and Cranston, and also to what seems to be some part of the eastern shore of Narragansett Bay in the towns of Tiverton or Little Compton. The name as applied to the latter locality can be found in our Rhode Island Records (1, 9) under the date 1639. But the name as applied to the River or Brook, notwithstanding its existence in Rhode Island, first appears in the Suffolk Records at Boston. It occurs in what William Arnold called a Deed, from Socononoco, an inferior Sachem of Pawtuxet. "For consideration granted unto William Arnold, Robert Cole & William Carpenter all the lands, marshes, medowes, islands, rivers, ponds lyeing betweene the great fresh or salt river called Pawtuxet river both above & below the Fall. This river called Pachasett & the river called Wanasquatuckett & the great salt river that is between Providence & Patuxet, reserving for himself and his heires & assignes free egresse & regresse to hunt & fish upon any of the said rivers and lands which shall ly open unimproved, and no Indian paths shall be made besides the ancient paths without consent of William Arnold, Robert Cole & William Carpenter or their heires. This was by absolute deed dated the 30 (11) 1641. A marke.

The "a marke" was "witnessed upon oath before Mr. Nowell the 9 (8) 1645 by Benedict Arnold".

It was a deliberate fraud designed to antedate the Deed of Miantinomi to Samuel Gorton and his companions of the lands of



ONE OF THE TWO  
CASCADES AT PAUCHASSET.



Showomet. The Showomet deed is dated 12th January, 1642, so Arnold dated his fraud 30, 11 month, 1641. As a Deed of Conveyance of land it had no force until signed by somebody. It was signed by nobody; and the signature was witnessed in 1645; what force had it in 1641? Of course, not the slightest force. It was recorded in Boston, but never in Providence. The object of this was that the Arnolds, father and son, and Robert Cole, and William Carpenter transferred their allegiance to Massachusetts and attempted and expected to throw the Colony into the possession of Massachusetts, at which time this fraudulent "deed" would assume importance as against Gorton and his friends. But the scheme while causing a continuous "confusion" here bore no other fruit. (Suffolk Deeds, Boston, Liber 1, p. 63.) In 1654 Barrows sold Fenner "medow lying at Newdaconkonett adjoining unto Pachasset River" (Early Rec. 2, 14). Stukely Westcott, one of the thirteen First Proprietors, testified that they "never understood their bounds to be further than Pachaset river" (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. (Harris Papers), v. 10, p. 56). Hipses Rock, the western bound, fixed by Miantinomi about 1642, was nearly one mile from the river. It is a good illustration of the elastic nature of these Indian bounds of lands to the English. The name underwent terrible corruptions through the manipulations of Recorders. Here are specimens: Paugatchet (Prov. Early Rec. 5, 286); Putchaset (Prov. Early Rec. 2, 12); Paugecachuke (Prov. Early Rec. 5, 319). The name must have had specific reference to the Falls, or more properly Cascades, a view of one of which is here given. Pachasset, Patuxet, and Pautucket are Indian words all having reference to water Falls. The name Pocasset was given to something near Fall River. It was the small stream which at that place falls into Mount Hope Bay under precisely similar conditions with Pawtucket, Pawchaset and Pawtuxet.

## POINT JUDITH.

See Weyanitoke (27).

## PAQUABACK—PAUQUABUNKE.

(9)

These names appear in sundry documents, and appear sometimes to apply to those lands then known as Moshanticut.



## POMECANSET.

(17)

Was an Indian village near Pawtuxet Falls (Early Rec. 15, p. 101).

## PIERCE'S FIGHT.

(6)

Capt. Michael Pierce of Plymouth fought his last fight on earth what is now Lincoln on Sunday, 26th March, 1676. He with nearly every soldier with him was killed. The Indians who ambushed him were under the lead of Canonchet. The story of Pierce's fight and total destruction is told in all the early histories. Not an Englishman escaped to tell the tale; hence all the histories of the battle are really the inventions of the writers. Under the titles "Quinsnicket" and "Nine Men's Misery" it is again touched herein.

## POPANOMSCUT—PEEBE'S NECK.

(15)

The Indian name was Popanomscut, as written during these later years. It was defined by Mr. Tooker for Mr. Bicknell (Hist. Barrington, R. I., p. 9) as meaning "at the Shelter Rock; or at the roasting rock". This can hardly be correct. Roger Williams gives the name Paponauksuog as "a winter fish which comes up the brooks and rivulets; some call them Frost fish from their coming up from the sea into fresh brooks in the time of frost or snow" (Indian Key 141, Narr. Club ed.). The brook, Moskituash, is no doubt where these fish then went. The meaning of the name is obvious. The ignorant English have corrupted the spelling of the name. The Indian title came by the Deed from Ousamequin, or Massasoit, 28th March, 1653 (Fessenden's Hist. Warren, R. I., 50).

There rests on the eastern shore of the Narragansett a stately building. From it a tower ascends, and this tower I ascend, an

unbidden guest. Standing as it does upon a high bluff, it affords a view of great scope, not only of the bay, but also of the surrounding country. Nestling at the foot of this bluff lies *Happy Islet*, and contiguous to it *Pomham Rock* and the red light thereon; hence it was the tower of the Pomham Club House wherein I stood. In serene silence the mind ran back among the forgotten years and visions arose of things I might have seen had I then stood here. The club took its name from the rock and the rock from the Sachem, but how, or why, or when, I do not know. The ancient dominions of Pomham are now within my vision; across the bay southwesterly they lie, Showomet then, but now they call it Warwick. It was there that Pomham dwelt, and of those lands he gave a deed to Samuel Gorton in 1642, whereon he put his sign manual, an Indian pipe. From this tower I might have seen at the close of December, 1675, the blazing fires of his hundred wigwams, and himself and all his people driven to starvation in the distant woodlands; where a little later Pomham fell by an English bullet, and with him all his people. Harsh things have been said by our Rhode Island people of Pomham. Time, the great alleviator of all human animosities, enables us to see Pomham in possibly a clearer light than those who were smarting under his vigorous blows could hope to possess. To us he seems more sinned against than sinning. He died in the wild woods like a hero, as he was, or, as ancient chronicler writes of him, "he was one of the great Sachems of the *Narrowganeets*; if he is slain, the glory of that nation is sunk with him into the same pit." Another chronicler writes of him, "he was one of the stoutest and most valiant of the Sachems," and still another, "he was the most warlike and the best soldier of all the Narragansets." Shot, as here related, he withdrew himself into the bush to die. A wandering Englishman drew unconsciously near the dying chief, who, possessed as he was of immense muscular strength, instantly attacked, and but for assistance, would have slain another of his enemies. Thus died Pomham on the 27th of July, 1676, and from this tower, his home it was that I saw burning two hundred years ago.

I have thus related how I saw from the tower the town of Pomham burned in midwinter, December, 1675, and the Indians

driven to the woods for shelter. In these words the reverend chronicler records the event: "On the 27th of December, Captain Prentice was sent into Pomham's country, when they burnt near an hundred wigwams, but found never an Indian in any of them." Again I saw a lurid flame light the whole of Showomet. It was in the following March the outraged Indians came and left but a single house standing in the whole settlement. Vengeance they took, with but a single life. In these words the reverend chronicler records the event: "Another party of them (the Indians) fell upon Warwick, a place beyond *Philip's* land, towards the Narraganset country, where they burned down to the ground all but a few houses left standing as a monument of their barbarous fury." The reverend chronicler had not then made the acquaintance of Will Shakespeare, else had he learned

That we but teach  
Bloody instructions, which being taught return  
To plague the inventor.

With Pomham the case was different. He may not have been familiar with the precise language of the great poet. In fact, it may be presumed that he was not thus familiar, but then the spirit was in him and he knew

That even handed justice  
Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice  
To our own lips.

And he proceeded in his barbaric way to give to the white men, in March, a taste of that medicine which the white men had administered to him in the preceding December. It was even handed justice.

It was a sorrowful day for us when Thomas Willett died, August 4, 1674. Captain Willett, we called him. He was among the first purchasers here. His name is among the half dozen grantees in Massasoit's famous deed of 1653. Ousamequin, we then called this Wampanoag Sachem. He dwelt hereaway at Sowames, or Warren,

as you now call it. Captain Willett came and "took up" land just here at the head of Bullock's Cove, as since you have named it, but we knew it as Peebe's Neck. You have changed it into *Phebe's* Neck, but for what good reason I cannot now discover. Peebe was a Sachem of the Wampanoags; here on this neck he lived and ruled his people, and here we shot him with a good English bullet on the first day in July, 1675, among the first of King Philip's warriors to be "sent to hell," as the Reverend Mather might have written it. Peebe, moreover, was his own executioner; that is, he brought death upon himself. All that we wanted was the land whereon he dwelt, and he should not have resisted us. In these degenerate days of civilization no white man thinks of resisting the encroachments of alien citizens upon his land. In those emergencies we found a material helper in gunpowder. As an argument, persuasive in its effect upon the "untutored savage." The least in amount properly administered, induced sleep to the patient, and he has slept the sleep of his fathers' ever since. Well, here just to the southward, at the very head of Peebe's Neck, Captain Willett built his house and here he died, and just there, at the head of Bullock's Cove, as you now call it, we buried him. Peebe knew it as Popanomscut. There had been trouble with the Dutch at New York, and Captain Willett having been much in Holland, and being well liked by that people, was sent to quiet the quarrels. In this he succeeded, for he was a sagacious and politique man, and so he became the first mayor of that city in 1665. In 1666 he acted as alderman, probably for the reason that, at that time, he was obliged to be more among us here at Wannamoiset, but the following year, 1667, he was made mayor of New York again, thus "twice he did sustain the place," just as we cut the words on his tombstone, which but for this little hill below, you could see from the tower.

On the top of Captain Willett's house the old gentleman had built a "watch house," and in this watch house he had kept a sentinel. Lulled into security, or possibly lacking in that watchful care which so fully possessed the old gentleman, who as I have written was now dead, this sentinel was one day not at his post. An unhappy day indeed it was, for Hezekiah Willett, the son of his father, "an hopeful young gentleman as any in these parts," "was betrayed (as the

Reverend Hubbard writes it) into their cruel hands within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own doors, within sight of his house, and he was shot by three of them at once, and from every one a mortal wound." All these things I might have seen from the round tower of the Pomham Club; but there was one thing about this "horrid and barbarous murder" of Hezekiah Willett, as the Reverend Hubbard calls it, which the same pious chronicler failed to mention; and this it was, exactly one year to a day had passed since we shot Peebe. Hezekiah was shot on the first anniversary of the death of Peebe. We could not account for this unfortunate coincidence on any other theory than that Hezekiah's god was talking, or pursuing, or on a journey, or peradventure he slept, when Hezekiah went out. We are the more inclined to this belief for the reason that whenever we shot a few of the original owners of the soil, the pious Hubbard says "the Devil in whom they trusted deceived them." As the pious Hubbard hath it, "Except the Lord keepeth the city the watchman watcheth in vain." And so indeed it was with the Willetts.

It was midsummer's day, June 24, 1675, that I sat here in the Tower enjoying the cool breeze late in the afternoon. I had been to worship. A "day of solemn humiliation throughout the colony [had been appointed] for fasting and prayer, to intreat the Lord to give success to the present expedition respecting the enemy." So writes our godly chronicler. Our people were about to begin a war upon those whom they found in possession when we came here, and we wanted to make sure that God was on our side, so we put in this little preliminary meeting. The thing had been all arranged as we supposed, and the people had departed for their homes. Mine being the nearest, I had reached it first, and was seated in this tower, as before written, when, as I was looking landward towards Mat-tapoiset, the beautiful peninsular which you can see just there jutting out into the waters of Mount Hope bay, but much nearer, and in these fields I saw a puff of smoke and heard the report of a rifle. Another and another followed until I had seen nine puffs and heard the voices of nine rifles. The first blood in King Philip's war had been shed, and I had seen it from this tower of the Pomham Club. I looked towards our strong refuge, the house of our godly minister,

Mr. Myles. I could see it plainly just here below us on the Sowams river. All was quiet there, and without doubt for a very good reason. We had built it for several purposes. It was a garrison house, a blockhouse, a church, and a parsonage, all in one. From it we dispatched our prayers and our bullets, both at the same time; and it became a matter of demonstration, that bullets propelled as ours were, by both prayer and powder, became exceedingly irritating to the skin of an Indian. It seems to me strange, now that I think of it, that notwithstanding our appeals before we begun an attack, nine of us should have been permitted to be shot dead on our way home from appealing. Surely, we had no intention of shooting any Indians for two or three days. I have asked our godly minister, Mr. Myles, about it, and he says that he cannot explain it.

It was but little more than a year from the day when I saw from this tower the first blood drawn in this terrible war, when I again stood here. It was in the early morning, Saturday, August 12, 1676, a wet and lowering morning it was. The war was still progressing, and armed bands still prowled about the country. Was it that I imagined, or did I really see a slight cloud rise from the southwest foot of Mount Hope and float lazily away? Whether I saw it or only thought I saw it, it actually rose and floated away. It was the smoke of the musket discharged by an Indian at King Philip, and him it killed. I had thus seen, from the tower of the Pomham Club, both the beginning and the end of King Philip's war.

The old chroniclers thus quaintly put things concerning the shooting of this Indian Sachem: "An Englishman and an Indian stood at such a place of the swamp where it hapened that Philip was breaking away; the morning being wet and rainy the Englishman's gun would not fire. The Indian having an old musket with a large touchhole it took fire more readily, with which Philip was dispatched, the bullet passing directly through his heart, where Joab thrust his darts into the rebellious Absalom." Philip's head was cut off and given to the Indian who shot him, and by this Indian taken to Plymouth, where it was set upon a pole, and there it stood for twenty-five years, of which thus writes the pious Mather: "Thus did God break the Head of the Leviathan, and give it to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness."

Nearly a century elapsed before I again stood within the tower of the Pomham Club. Singularly enough, it was as before, a mid-summer day, or rather it was the evening of such a day, (the 9th of June, 1772,) that I saw two craft, one, a schooner, in chase of the other, a sloop. It was the British schooner *Gaspee* attempting to overhaul the New York packet *Hannah*, then on her way to Providence. The *Gaspee* failed in her endeavor, and grounded firm and fast on Namquit Point, the long, low sandy land just across there in Pomham's country. Hard and fast there lay the *Gaspee*, and night descending—I slept, but scarcely had I slept when I was awakened by the wild shouting of men. Across the waters the shouts came in clear and distinct utterances. I could see nothing in the darkness; presently all was again quiet; a light became discernible. It was on board the *Gaspee*. Larger and larger it grew—the wild flames enveloped the hull and leaped to the topmasts; the ship was on fire and burned to the water's edge. The Lieutenant, Dudingston, who commanded her, was shot, but not killed, by a musket ball fired by Joseph Bucklin. In a boat I saw him from this tower carried just there to Pawtuxet. Even as I had seen from this tower the first blood drawn in Philip's war, so had I now seen from this same tower the first blood shed in the greater struggle, the war of the Revolution.

It was only a year or two later, while sitting here one afternoon in May, 1776, that I saw two ships launched from the stocks. They were men of war. One the *Warren* of 32 guns, the other the *Providence* of 28 guns. Both were taken to sea, under my own eyes, and through the British fleet then blockading. The *Warren* sailed first, commanded by Captain John B. Hopkins. He got safely to sea. A little later Congress applied to Commodore Whipple, who was in command of the *Providence*, to know whether he could take his ship to sea. Whipple answered that he could. Dispatches were sent to him to be taken to France. The importance of these dispatches was clearly indicated when it became known that they related to the treaty with France concerning the alliance. It was on a dark and stormy night in April that Whipple cleared his ship and set sail for France. The wind was blowing half a gale. In the darkness I saw him, phantom like, sail by—close under the rock

Pomham he laid the course of his vessel. Short was the time he made to Warwick, off which point lay the British frigate *Lark*. I had often seen her lying there beneath this tower, and now, while I could not see her, it being night, I could plainly hear her cannon as she gave the *Providence* a broadside as she passed. Commodore Whipple returned her salute, and crowded the ship with sails. This salute by Whipple, the flash of which I saw, and the roar of which I heard, killed and wounded twenty of his enemies. Further down the bay Whipple exchanged broadsides with the *Juno*, another British frigate, but stopping not, held swiftly on his course to sea. Another ship impeded his progress—a broadside sunk her, and his course was open. Never man made more adventurous voyage, nor one fraught with greater consequences to his country. I saw the beginnings of it from the tower of the Pomham Club.

Thus has a mind in idleness wandered back, under the suggestion of a thought, among the days and the things which are gone. It was a thought begot by the scene and unthought before.

There are many places of local historical interest in Rhode Island around which cluster the memories of single actions, but where can be found a spot within the State where one can gather beneath a single glance the fields of so many famous actions as in this tower of the Ponham Club? Like Kartaphilos I have traversed the centuries, and have gathered here and there an action; but those untouched far outnumber those herein described. The gleaner has preceded the harvester. Let some enthusiastic member of the Club follow out the study for the regalement of himself and the delectation of his fellows. I came, did I say, an unbidden guest? It is true, and yet it is not true. I cannot be a guest. I could be only a guest when the family were temporarily absent, and so indeed I was; and for it all I owe an apology to the Club for making tales about their domicil.

POTOWOMUT.

(17-22)

This name is given by Potter (Hist. Narrag., p. 304) as above, or as Potoowoomuck, and described as "a neck of land near East Greenwich". Dr. Parsons (Indian Names of Places in Rhode



Island) gives the name as first written above, and also as Pootowomet, and describes the place as a "neck of land where the Ives live". The name is given as Potowomet in the Colonial Records (v. 3, p. 55); but whoever made the Index, wrote the word, Potawomet. Here are a few other forms: Pittewomuck; Potoume; Potowomuck; Pettewomuck; Potawomett; Patowoome, etc. Potowomut is a pretty peninsula penetrating Greenwich Bay, an arm of the Narragansett. It was a bone of contention for individual possession by many men for many years. A brief narrative of these struggles will illustrate the wild craze for the possession of the land which broke loose here in 1658, and has never ceased. Four years before this wild craze, Randall Holden and Ezekiel Holyman bought "a neck of ground commonly called by the English by the name of Potawomet," from an Indian named Taccomanan, for fifteen pounds. The Deed reads: "I Taccomanan right owner of all ye meadows and movable land," &c. (Fuller's Hist. Warwick, 49). It was the unwritten law, in the Colony, before the Charter of Charles the Second, that only the chief Sachems could give valid deeds of land; no under Sachem could give a title. This became a written law under this Charter. Holden and Holyman bought the land "for themselves and the rest of the inhabitants of the town of Warwick". The Deed was given on the 13th June, 1654. Taccomanan was a very insignificant Sachem, almost unknown; he was one of the witnesses to the Deed of Showomet given by Miantinomi. He dwelt at Potowomut, but Potowomut was in no part of Showomet, but far south of it. Five years later, on the 11th June, 1659, Coginaquand, who was then chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, gave to Gov. Winthrop, of Connecticut, and Humphrey Atherton, and their company, a Deed of land north from Richard Smith's house at what is now Wickford, but then known as Acquidneset. The Sachem by this Deed ignored the Deed of Taccomanan of 1654, and specifically reserved Potowomut "for planting ground for me and my friends until such time as we see cause to forsake it" (Conn. Col. Rec., v. 2, p. 540; also (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3, Ser. v. 1, p. 213); also (Fones' Records of the Proprietors of Narragansett). Coginaquand was a brother to Miantinomi; at least it was so declared in the "Confirmation" Deed, as it has been called, signed by

him 29th May, 1659 (Staples' Annals Prov. 567). Judge Potter while stating his descent, as above; declares him to have been a son of Canonicus (Hist. Narr., 1835, p. 172). His sale of lands to the English in the near neighborhood of the Richard Smith house, and near the spot where Canonicus lived and died, indicates a near relationship to Canonicus and Miantinomi. No sooner was this act of Coginaquand known to Randall Holden, and the possible bearing of it upon his deed of Potowomut from Taccomanan, than Holden induced another unknown Indian named Namawish to give him another Deed of Potowomet. This was done on the 26th June, 1660. A year later Holden surrendered this deed to Benedict Arnold, then an assistant from Newport, for the use of the Colony (R. I. Col. Rec. 3, 104). Benedict Arnold was an inveterate land grabber, and Potowomut was never turned over to the Colony; and twenty years later, Arnold being then recently dead, Holden appealed to the General Assembly to surrender his Deed, "or the money disbursed therein" (R. I. Col. Rec. 3, 109). But Holden never recovered, and the lands fell into the hands quietly of private owners. It is possible that Holden's transaction arose from an act, or a suggestion, made in the General Assembly. On the 11th July, 1659, this same Sachem Coginaquand sold Namcook to the Atherton Company. In August following, the General Assembly ordered "the purchase from the natives of a sufficient plantation at Potowomet, provided that the said plantation do satisfy in reason such of the inhabitants of Providence and Warwick who had expended money for the recovery of the charter from Mr. Coddington's obstruction, upon the account and promise, of this very place" (R. I. Col. Rec. v. 1, p. 424). In 1679-1680 three sets of Proprietors claimed ownership of the lands; and three towns claimed jurisdiction, Kingston, East Greenwich, and Warwick. No definite action was taken by the General Assembly to fix the jurisdiction; and the inhabitants could be neither taxed, nor called to duty as citizens, nor enjoy the privilege of the King's protection (Col. Rec. 4, 503). The General Assembly then gave Warwick notice, but fixed the jurisdiction in East Greenwich. How long this jurisdiction continued I do not know; but it was placed in the town of Warwick. In February, 1786, the people living there petitioned to be trans-

ferred from Warwick to East Greenwich, but nothing came from the petition, and the peninsula still forms a part of Warwick—so that people dwelling in Warwick proper must travel through the town of East Greenwich to reach the southern part of the town. In 1679 a law was enacted, in which occurs this clause: "Whereas there were three purchasers of a place called Maskachusett those three persons are esteemed to be three proprietors of East Greenwich" (R. I. Col. Rec. 3, 55). This locality is the most southern point of Potowomut. As civilization developed the name of the Narragansett Sachems, Potowomut for these lands became in 1703 Potaomitt and Potaomet.

## PASCOAG.

## (4)

This is a pretty, thriving manufacturing village in the north-western corner of Rhode Island. The first appearance of the name as an independent local habitation was in the census of 1865, wherein Dr. Snow says it was without boundaries, and had a population of 722. The name Pascoag plays small part in the legislation or history of Rhode Island, but it figures in literature. In the opening of the account of the *Great Slocum Dinner*, given by the *Journal* in March, 1843, it is related that "a detachment of the Harmonious Reptiles and the Pascoag Loafers" were to escort Slocum to the Smithfield line on his way to Providence to partake of this imaginary dinner. The late Senator Anthony, the author of the *Dorriad*, also alludes to the name, in that chaste and polished manner in which the *Journal* discoursed of those who differed politically from it. The subject was the attack on the Arsenal:

"When the Invincibles turned tail  
The other corps began to quail,  
And looked which way to fly,  
The Harmonious Reptiles turned about,  
The Pascoag Ripguts joined the rout,  
With Gloster's chosen chivalry."

These "Harmonious Reptiles" and "Pascoag Ripguts," and "Johnston Savages," differed only from Senator Anthony in that

they thought a constitution ought to be substituted for the charter in 1842. Mr. Anthony was opposed to having a constitution, and in these terms he classed those who thought differently. So far as I can now recall, these allusions cover the references in literature to Pascoag.

The locality came into, what came subsequently to be, the Colony of Rhode Island, by one of the "confirmation" deeds obtained by William Harris in 1659. First it was in the town of Providence; in 1731 Glocester was erected, and Pascoag was in Glocester; in 1806, Burrillville was erected, and Pascoag was in Burrillville; and there it still remains.

Pascoag plays no part in the history of Providence; in the history of Glocester (Mrs. Perry's) it appears but indirectly, thus—"The Nipmuck Indians extended from Massachusetts and Connecticut into the northwest corner of this state; \* \* the small *Passcoag* tribe roamed a little south of the Nipmucks." This question of Indian jurisdiction is incapable of solution, and least of all, the territory of the Nipmuck; but whence comes the authority for the statement that there was an Indian tribe named *Passcoag* over here; the present writer does not know; he believes it is mythological. It is evident that sufficient interest exists in the name to make a passing note. Let us begin. Mr. Perry, in the census of 1885, gave no population to villages; but concerning the name Pascoag, he gave it to a village, a river, a pond, a granite quarry, and a tribe of Indians. Dr. Usher Parsons, in his *Indian Names of Places*, gives two spellings, thus—Pascoag, and Pascoage, and applies the name to a River, and a Falls, which he says is on the south side of Burrillville, which means, of course, that it (whatever it is) is outside of the town. Dr. Parsons, with his accustomed stupidity, cites as his authority, Registry of Deeds, Providence, page 160. Mr. James H. Olney, in his *Olney Genealogy*, page 16, gives the name as from a Will of Epenetus Olney, 1735, and spells it Pask Koorge. Mr. John Austin gives the name in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, page 353, from the same Epenetus Olney Will, but spells it Paskhoge. Certainly, both cannot be correct, and the truth is, neither is correct, for the word as clearly written as if it were printed, is spelled *Paskhoage*. I have purposely left until the last to be noticed,

that which should have been first, to wit, Mr. H. A. Keach's *History of Burrillville*. This book, written by a young lawyer never trained in historical research, was published in 1856. Concerning Pascoag, Mr. Keach says: "There was another tribe called Pas-co-ag Indians; one of our villages still retains the name; it is a ledgy place, and furnishes among the rocks around a secure retreat for snakes. In the Indian dialect the term *coag* meant a snake, and when they (quere, the snake or the Indian) went by this locality, they said, Pass-coag."

The historical literature of Rhode Island is specially rich in absurdities of this character; but there is certainly nothing in this line superior to this by Mr. Keach. He says the word is Indian—actually the name of a tribe; it is a compound word, half English, "Pass," and half alleged Indian, "coag." Whence did the Indian get the English word to prefix to their "coag"? Did they exist unnamed until the arrival of the English? It is too absurd for argument. But this is the source of the Indian tribe story, which the later writers have followed. Where did Mr. Keach find it? Nowhere. The name Pascoag is not of great antiquity in Rhode Island history; it does not appear in the *Early Records* of Providence. The word Pageacoag occurs in the *Early Records* (1667), vol. 15, p. 115. The locality as given in the record is between the seven mile line and the four mile line, and on the hitherside of Setemechut Hill. This fixes the place as being in (10) and hence it cannot be Pascoag. So far as we now know, the earliest mention of the name, documentary mention, occurs in a deed by William Gulley in March, 1720; following this comes the Olney Will of 1735. The Gulley deed is the authority which Dr. Parsons attempted to cite, but failed. It will be found in *Records of Deeds*, v. 4, p. 160. These two items discredit the statement by Mr. Keach (page 23) that "the earliest English settlers at Pascoag were of the Salisbury family, in or near, 1786." There must have been Englishmen dwelling there half a century earlier; and the name of one of the plantations so occupied was *Sweate Fearn Plaine*, which Epenetus Olney gave to his son in 1735. Now, then, concerning the meaning of Pascoag, and its construction, for upon both points I am about to suggest new opinions. Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, long regarded





THE ROCK "PETTAQUAMSCUT."

as the chief authority in these Indian languages, says "the name belongs to land at the branch or crotch of the rivers." By rivers, Trumbull here refers to the Pascoag river and Branch river; but the village of Pascoag is not near this place of union of the streams. There is another village not far from Pascoag, but in the town of Glocester, with the Indian name *Chepachet*; this name Dr. Trumbull defines "as the place of division or the fork of the river." There is still another word defined by Trumbull as "at the crotch of the river," to wit, Woonasquatucket. Now it seems impossible that all these words mean the same thing; the Indian languages were not so copious. With no pretension to a knowledge of Indian philology, it seems to me that this word, Pascoag, has an altogether different meaning. Roger Williams gives the word, "askug," which he says means a snake, and he gives the pronunciation of it, "askoog." Now all that the English did was to prefix a P, and we have Pas-koog. The origin and the meaning is *too* obvious.

## PUTTAQUAMSCUT.

(27)

It is an Indian name of one of the Indian purchases—that of 1657—and also of a river. In spelling the word Trumbull cites Roger Williams, thus "Puttuckquomscut, Puttaquomscut." Trumbull derives the word from puttuckqui-omosk, meaning "the Round Rock". It is the starting point of the purchase half a mile northeast from the Tower Hill Church (Narr. Club 6, 177; also Potter's Hist. Narr. 304). The name as written by Williams in the Original Manuscript, Testimony, 18th June, 1682, is as it stands at the head of this note. It was the scene of great intrigues on the part of the English to get possession of the Indian lands. It is one of the most interesting localities in Indian History of the Rhode Island lands. All the great sales of Indian lands were made here. The famous Turf and Twig transfer to the Atherton partners was made here. It was here in 1664 that the King's Commissioners fixed the title of all the Narragansett lands in the Colony of Rhode Island (R. I. Col. Rec. 2, 9, 60, 93). These Records are unique in the



varieties of spelling given, thus—Petaqumskocte (2, 93), Petusquamscutt (2, 94), Petasquamscutt (2, 95), Petequomscutt (2, 95).

## PAWCATUCK.

(28)

The controversy covering more than a century touching the lands along the east bank of this river—continued by Massachusetts and by Plymouth until Massachusetts secretly absorbed that Colony; and by Connecticut—enter largely into the History of Rhode Island. An idea can be obtained by referring to the R. I. Colonial Records 4, 278, 491, 510, 516. These troubles came to an end partly in 1728 and finally in 1746.

## PASCONUQUIS.

(17)

This name appears on the Walling map of 1854 applied to a small cove just north of Occupassnetuxet cove, also on this map. These names upon this map were fixed by the late Judge Elisha R. Potter—where he found the name above I have been unable to learn. It was the "Lower Bailies Cove" of 1661. The land along the south bank of the stream which flows into Pasconuquis was called by the Indians Capanaganset (Prov. Early Rec. 1, 79).

## PAPAQUINEPAUG.

(10—12)

The name was applied both to a brook and to a pond. The name so used seems to be in opposition to the rule laid down by Trumbull, that in compound words "the inseparable generic name for 'river' or 'stream' was *-tuk-* denoting water in motion, as *pog* or *paug* denoted water at rest" (Narr. Club 6, 119). Papaquinepaug is a brook which runs through Roger Williams Park and into Papaquinepaug Pond, now Fenner's Pond. Mr. Trumbull also gives the word *baug* as meaning still water, but Quinebaug is the name of a river.

## PONAGANSET.

(4—7)

It is the name of a pond (4) and of a stream running southeasterly from the pond (7) and becoming the north branch of the Pawtuxet river (17). The usual varieties of spelling these Indian names are particularly barbarous in this case. There are but few—Punhungansth; Punhungun; Punganset; Punhanganset; Pushaneganset; Posneganset; etc. The original Indian name of the town of Dartmouth, Mass., was Ponaganset (Records of Portsmouth, R. I., 415). These lands were not far from the northern bounds of Little Compton (Plym. Col. Rec. 4, 65). In 1708 lands were conveyed on the easterly side of a river, Apehunqunset; another form of the name is Poquantuck.

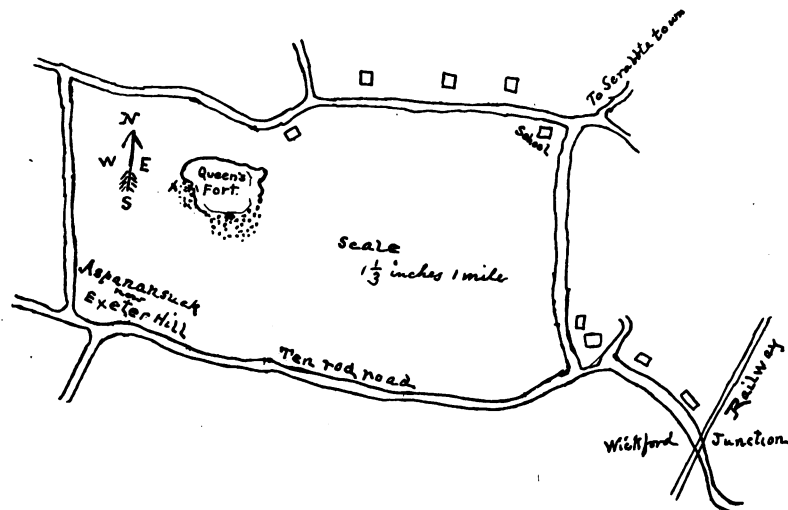
## THE PEQUOT PATH.

Frequent references in the later histories will be found to the Pequot Path. It was the earliest travelled highway used by the English settlers of Rhode Island; but before their advent it was the travelled path of the Indians from Moshassuck, now Providence south, and westward to the Pequot country; hence it came to be known as the Pequot Path. It ran along the western shore of the Bay to Pawtuxet; thence to Apponaug; thence to East Greenwich; thence across the western end of Potowomet, across the Muschachug river to Wickford; then south, on the west side of the Pettaquamscut. Its course in Acquidneset (22) ran by Devil's Foot rock, which Dr. Trumbull suggested may have been the English meaning of the word cawcumsquussuck. It ran over Tower Hill, thence westerly to what is now Wakefield, crossing the Saucatuck river; thence southerly, and westerly, near the shore until it reached the Paucatuck river. The late Judge Potter says: "It was long known as the Pequot Path, afterwards as the King's highway, then as the Queen's highway, and later still as the Old Post road" (Madam Knight's Journal, ed. 1865, p. 26). Mr. Williams speaks thus of the Indian paths: "It is admirable to see what paths their naked hardened feet have made in the wilderness in the most stony and rockie places" (Indian Key, 95).

## THE QUEEN'S FORT.

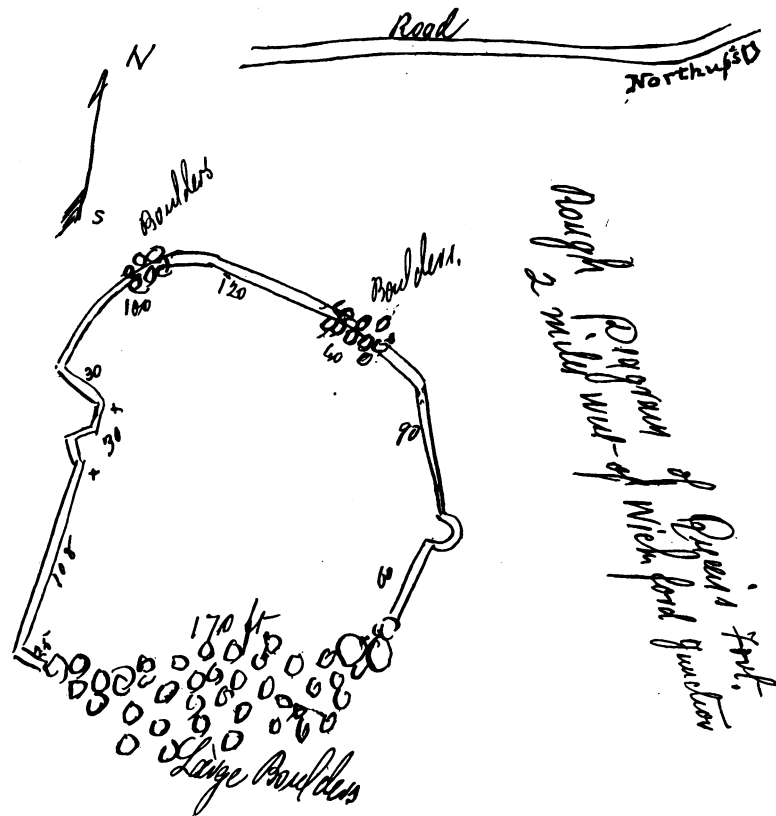
(23—24)

This rude fortification stands upon a small elevation exactly on the line separating North Kingston from Exeter. It is now surrounded by timber and huge rocks. It stands upon the road running parallel with the Ten Rod road, and about one mile north from that road. The Fort is about two miles from the Wickford Junction Station on the Consolidated Railway. The accompanying map shows the locality.



Let me enter upon some accounts of this interesting spot; interesting not alone for its historical association with the last of the Narragansetts, but also interesting because of the extraordinary character of the surface of the country. It is the extreme eastern spur of the hills which extend east and west through Exeter. The drawing which follows fairly well represents the form of the Fort. The builders, taking advantage of huge boulders, laid rough stone walls between them, making a continuous line. A military friend who made the rough drawing says: "There is a round bastion, or half moon, on the northeast corner of the Fort; and a Salient, or

V-shaped point, or Flanker, on the west side." From the south the Fort is unapproachable because of the immense mass of huge boulders with which the hill is covered; the passage by men in force among them is impossible. East, north and west the approaches are extremely difficult from the precipitous nature of the hill. The climbing of this hill is difficult even with a friend to help. What



must it have been with an Indian, with his rifle in front? Many boulders lie within the walls of the Fort; beneath some of them are excavations sufficient to give shelter to one or two persons, but these are as nothing taken in comparison with the Queen's Chamber. This extraordinary chamber is not within the Fort, but outside, west,

and distant perhaps a hundred feet. It consists of an open space beneath an immense mass of boulder rocks; the tallest men can stand within it; the "floor" is fine white sand; the entrance is so hidden that six feet away it would never be suspected; the boulders piled above it represent a thickness of fifty or sixty feet. Such is my rough description of the Queen's Chamber. The earliest mention by a direct name, in history, is that by Elisha R. Potter in 1835 (*Early History of Narragansett*, p. 84). Mr. Potter continues in a foot note: "These are the remains of an Indian Fort still known by the name of Queen's Fort, near the line between North Kingstown and Exeter; it is on the summit of a high hill completely covered with rocks, and the Fort appears to have been surrounded with a strong stone wall; there is a hollow in the rock which has been always known as the Queen's bedroom, and a large room, the entrance of which is nearly concealed, which is supposed by tradition to have been a hiding place for the Indians, and in which arrow heads and other things have been found". This was written in 1835, but it rests chiefly on a much earlier authority, a little historical Tract published in London in 1676, entitled "*Farther account of the Indian Warr*". In this little book it is related how the Massachusetts and Plymouth army "with three Puritan clergymen reached Capt. Richard Smith's house at Cawcumsquussuck, whose dwelling is about four miles off the Narragansetts dwellings". The dwelling places of Canonicus, Miantinomi and down the entire line of Chief Sachems were all within a radius of five miles from the Queen's Fort.

The ancient chronicler continues: "Orders were given for a march, according to discretion, towards the Narragansetts' country, or town, when finding no Indians, they were at a stand not knowing which way to go in pursuit of the Indians; but during their stay they discovered some place under ground wherein was Indian corn laid up in store; this encouraged them to look further, and they found several good quantities of that grain in like manner." There are other incidents mentioned in this scarce Tract to which I wish here to refer. "The next day (December 15th) an Indian, called Stone-Wall John, pretending to come from the Sachems intimating their willingness to have peace". That evening he (Stone-Wall

Jack) not being gone a quarter of an hour (from Smith's House) his company that lay hid behind a Hill, killed two Salem men, and at a house three miles off, where I had ten men, they killed two; instantly Capt. Mosely, myself and Capt. Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appleton's company, that kept three and a half miles off; in coming they (the Indians) lay behind a Stone wall and fired thirty shots on us" (Drake's Old Indian Chronicle, 1836, p. 142). These details are here touched upon solely for the purpose of fixing a solid historical basis or foundation for the location of the Queen's Fort, for it was just east from the fort that these things took place. Three days later, on December 18th, some of the soldiers accidentally espied an Indian, so the ancient writer writes; but the Indian doubtless purposely exposed himself; this Indian was taken to the General, who, on the Indian's refusal to answer questions, ordered him forthwith to be hanged; whereupon, to save his life, he told them where the whole body of the Indians were. This Indian's name was Peter. It was Peter who led the English army to the Great Swamp Fight.

The Queen's Fort was first shown on the Walling map of Rhode Island in 1854. It was a suggestion by Elisha R. Potter, whose history of Narragansett first recorded it. The Richard Smith house, where the English army was in camp, was three and three-quarter miles in a direct line, southeast from the Queen's Fort. From Smith's house to the Swamp Fort the distance in a direct line is ten miles, southwest. From the Queen's Fort to the Swamp Fort the distance in a direct line is nine miles, southwest. From the Smith house to Jireh Bull's house, on Namcook, burned by the Indians, 16th December, 1675, it was eight miles in a direct line, south. The question then is, where was the Indian town four miles from Smith's house where so much corn was found; and where were the Stone Walls, three and a half miles from Smith's house, from behind which the Indians fired (thirty shots) at Capt. Moseley? These localities could not have been south from Smith's house, for no such town existed along that coast to Jireh Bull's house eight miles distant; it could not have been east, for Smith's house was on the shore of Narragansett Bay; it could not have been north or northeast, because the Puritan army had just marched over

that country; it could not have been southwest, for the reason that from this advanced post to the Swamp Fort the distance Mr. Hubbard gives as fifteen or eighteen miles, whereas had it been southwest the distance would have been less than six miles; hence it must appear that the point we seek must lie either west or northwest from Smith's house. It cannot be west, for the distances render that direction impossible. It must therefore have been northwest. It may therefore be stated with a reasonable degree of historical accuracy that the Queen's Fort was the spot around which lay the great "town" of the Narragansetts in 1675, and from behind the stone walls of which the Indians fired thirty shots upon the advance post of the English army on the 15th December of that year. The Queen was Quaiapen. She had been the wife of Mexanno, who was the eldest son of Canonicus. She was a sister to Ninegret, the Great Niantic Sachem, not one of the debased Ninegrets of the following century. This Squaw-Sachem had, like all distinguished Indians, several successive names, thus, Magnus; Matantuck; the Saunck Squaw, meaning the wife of a Sachem; and the Old Queen of the Naragansetts. She was the mother of Quequaganet, the great Sachem, who sold the great tract called Pettaquamscut and other large tracts to the English. She was also the mother of Scuttape, who signed one of the Confirmation Deeds in 1659. She was related by blood or marriage with the most distinguished Sachems of both tribes, the Niantics and the Narragansetts. Canonicus, Mascus, Ninegret, Miantinomi, Wawaloam, the wife of Miantinomi, and the mother of Canonchet Mexanno, Quequaganet, Scuttape, all were her relations, either by blood or marriage; all were Sachems, and all being dead, Quaiapen became the great Squaw-Sachem of the Narragansetts, and her last stronghold was the Queen's Fort. Late in the month of June, 1676, Quaiapen with the small remnant of her tribe left living after the Swamp Fight, left the Queen's Fort on an expedition the nature of which is unknown. She had passed Nipsachook and encamped not far from Nacheke on the south bank of the south branch of the Pawtuxet river, in what is now Warwick. It was on Sunday morning, July 2nd, 1676, when she was attacked by a party of Connecticut horsemen on one of their warlike excursions through Rhode Island;

her band was stampeded and destroyed. It was indeed a massacre; not one escaped. Major Talcott, who commanded the troop, gives the number killed as being 238; other authorities swell the number to 300. On that day was slain Quaiapen; and Potuck, her counsellor, a man, considering his education, of wonderful subtlety, as one of the ancient chroniclers relates; here, too, was slain Stonewall John, the great Indian Engineer of the Narragansetts (Conn. Hist. Coll. 2, 458), also (Trumbull's Hist. Conn. 1, 347). In speaking of the death of Quaiapen, Major Talcott describes her as "thatould peice of venum the Saunk-Squaw."

On the 2nd of July, 1676, Quaiapen and her counsellor Potuck, and her chiefest engineer Stone Wall John were butchered by a Connecticut troop in the massacre near Natick, on the Pawtuxet river. On the 12th August following, in 1676, William Harris wrote, here in Providence, this account of the personal character of the Queen and her counsellor: "A great councillor of ye Narragansetts, & spetially of a great woman; yea ye greatest yt ther was; ye sd woman, called ye Old Queene; ye fore sd councillor her greatest favoret; he doth as much excel in depth of judgment, common witts, as Saull was taller than Israel; he bore as much sway by his Council at Narraganset, according to his, and theyer small proportions as great Mazerreen among the french". Mr. Harris here refers to Cardinal Mazarin (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. 10, 175). According to Mr. Harris, Potuck was not killed at the time that Quaiapen was slain, but "was still at Rhode Island, but in danger of being killed" (page 176). It remains for me to commemorate Stone Wall John, the designer of these Indian defences so celebrated as the Swamp Fight Fort, and the Queen's Fort, the subject of this narrative. The force of this opinion lies in the fact that the earliest writers contemporary with this Indian mention his skill "in building their Forts"; one of these contemporary authorities is cited by S. G. Drake; it is a manuscript letter written by Capt. James Oliver, second officer in command of the Massachusetts army. Those who desire to learn the ingenious structure of the Great Swamp Fort in the center of Quawanehunk (27) must study the early chroniclers. But concerning the Queen's Fort, the case is different; it is not a question of argument; the demonstration is ocular. Go and look



at it, for it still exists practically intact, the only existing structure of its now extinct people. Every student of these things sees at once that both these positions and both structures were unusual in character among Indian works. The positions must be considered as military defences for the homes, and hunting grounds of the great masses of these Indian tribes. These were north of the Swamp Fort and west of the Queen's Fort, while the Great Sachems all dwelt just east from the latter fortification and under the protection of its walls. Both were positions naturally of great strength, and both had been selected with military sagacity, and strengthened by engineering skill. The reason why I think that "Stone Wall John" (his Indian name has been lost) was the constructor of these works is because the contemporary English writers have said that he, and he alone, of all the Indians, could do such things; and they have described no other Indian possessed of such talent. The Swamp Fort was captured by the English by means of the treachery of the Indian Peter, who betrayed his countrymen and led the army directly into the heart of the "Fort" (island it really was), to the utter dismay and destruction of unnumbered hundreds. The Queen's Fort was never captured. It fell into the possession of the English after the massacre of the remaining Narragansetts on the 2nd July, 1676. Concerning "Stone Wall John", Mr. S. G. Drake, certainly the wisest of New England writers concerning these Indians, says of him: "One writer of his time observes that he was called 'the Stone-layer,' for that being an active, ingenious fellow he had learned the masons' trade, and was of great use to the Indians *in building their forts,*" etc.; hence we may hazard but little in the conjecture that he was chief engineer in the erection of the great Narragansett Fort; although but little is known of him, he was doubtless one of the most distinguished Narragansett captains" (Drake's Book of the Indians 3, 77). Another contemporary chronicler thus describes him; the writer is describing the fight within the Swamp Fort: "Our men killed many of them, as also their wives and children, amongst which an Indian Blacksmith, the only man amongst them that fitted their guns, and arrow heads, and amongst many other houses, burnt his, as also demolished his Forge, and carried away his tools" (Continuation of the State of New

England being a Farther account of the Indian War, London, 1676, page 6; also Drake's Old Indian Chronicles, Boston, 1867, page 182). But I will take this remarkable structure back to a still greater antiquity; even to a day before the Colony of Rhode Island came into existence; before the day on which the Charter of Charles the Second was conceived, or suggested. There is a record in Massachusetts of a complaint made in May, 1662, to the General Court, by Thomas Minor of Southertown, against "certain Indians of the Narragansett country living at a *Fort*, over whom one called Shumatucke is Sachem, for taking his (Minor's) horses, throwing stones," etc. (Mass. Col. Rec., v. 4, pt. 2, p. 54). Minor was an inhabitant of Southertown, a town created by the Massachusetts upon both sides of the Pawcatuck river. That portion on the eastern side became Westerly. In the September following (1662) the same complaint was made to the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Boston; it reads "for detaining, riding, and concealing" Minor's horses (Hazard's Hist. Col. 2, 462). But answer was immediately made that "Shawattock knew no reason why he should pay anything (Massachusetts had fined him twenty pounds) to Thomas Minor, seeing he had his mares again" (Hazard's Hist. Col. 2, 462). A portion of this document is reproduced in the R. I. Colonial Records (v. 1, p. 498). Those horses were probably turned loose by Minor to feed and wandered away in the woods, where they were found by the Indians running wild. This Sachem had a small company, forming an Indian town. The name of this small tribe was given by Williams in a letter as being the Wunnashowattuckoogs, which name he shortened to Showatucks (Narr. Club 6, 363). This town was near where Pessicus, a brother of Miantinomi, and Canonchet, Miantinomi's son, lived; Sawgogue and Acquidnesit (22), northeast, but a short distance from the Queen's Fort. This is made clear by the Williams Letter above cited, concerning a request made by Uncas to Pessicus and Canonchet to kill the Showatucks. Still more strongly is the fact made clear by the lease given by Cachanoquand to Richard Smith in 1659. One of the bounds of this lease is "the small river Showatucquere". It was on this brook that the Indian village lay and it ran near the Queen's Fort. It was the structure of which I have claimed Stonewall John to

be the builder, and over which Quaiapen became Queen after the death of Canonchet. Before I leave this interesting subject I will discuss for a moment another matter connected with it. Upon Minor's complaint, the Massachusetts General Court sent Capt. Daniel Gookin with an interpreter to bring Shumatucke into line. Gookin was at this time superintendent of the "Praying Indians" under Humphrey Atherton—certainly a precious pair. But Shumatucke did not treat Gookin and his Praying Indians with that deference which Mr. Gookin thought proper. So he appeared before the Commissioners of the United Colonies and made complaints against Shawottuck and his people (Hazard's Hist. Coll. 2, 462). This Sachem dwelt with his small tribe at the head water of Shawatuck brook (see map 24) and within half a mile of the Queen's Fort. Capt. Gookin has written concerning them: "But let me add this by way of commendation of the Narragansett and Warwick Indians who inhabit in this jurisdiction, that they are an active, laborious, and ingenious people; which is demonstrated in their labors they do for the English; of whom more are employed especially in the making of Stone Fences" (Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. 1st Ser., v. I, pp. 141, 230). Gookin also stated that his visit "had been without effect" (Hazard's Hist. Col. 2, 467). The direct falsity of Gookin's statement to the Commissioners is shown in this same volume (Hazard, 462), where it appears that Shamattuck returned Minor's mares immediately after Gookin's visit. It is clear that Gookin was within half a mile of the Queen's Fort, and while he may not have seen it, being so densely hidden in the forest, he had seen the stone walls built by these Indians in that neighborhood where, according to the Massachusetts Records, Shawatuck lived; and there Gookin must have seen the works which he described as illustrating the "activity, the laborious character and the ingenuity" of the Narragansetts, as shown in their labors for the English; and of whom more are employed; especially in making "Stone Fences," and many other hard labors. But the Commissioners of the United Colonies sustained Gookin by writing an abominable letter to the Government of the Providence Plantations, asserting the solidity of the claim of Connecticut to the lands around the Fort. But this claim, long contested, was never maintained. The King of England,

George the Second, by a Decree, in 1746, extinguished the absurd claim of Connecticut, and established the jurisdiction of all these lands in Rhode Island.

## QUINIMQUET.

This was the name of a daughter of Mexanno and Quaiapen, the Indian Queen, and hence a granddaughter of Canonicus; from this name, Conimicut, which was subsequently applied by the English to what we now call Gaspee Point. Under the name *Namquit* it is further discussed.

## QUINSNIKET.

(6)

Some four or five miles to the northward from Providence, lying in the town of Lincoln between the Loisquissett (that is the way of writing the name in the law of 1805) and the Smithfield Turnpikes, is a spot known as Quinsniket. It is claimed by some that this name is not Indian; a claim equally well founded can be affirmed against Neoterconkernitt (R. I. Hist. Coll. 4, 204) or Newdaconkonett (Prov. Early Records 2, 14, 106, 136). Both are terrible corruptions of an Indian name. There are traditions concerning this locality carrying us back to the days when Canonchet fought and destroyed Michael Pearce and his Plymouth soldiers in 1676. For this reason I have placed the name and its location upon the Indian map. Tradition says the name means "a rock house". The name is now attached to a huge mass of rocks which caps the hill juyst back of the "Butterfly Factory". It overhangs other rocks, thus forming a sort of room or of space which it covers. Tradition says that beneath this rock, or in this rock house, slept Nanuntenoo, otherwise Canonchet, the night before he destroyed Capt. Pierce and all his soldiers. It may be true, for certainly it might have been. On the green sward to the southward of this immense rock he may have lighted his council fire and planned the fatal ambush—Quinsniket the bountiful hand of nature had brought together everything which could delight the eye of the Indian—a magnificent

view; security from enemies; luxuriant foliage; rare plants; and the waters of the bright Moshassuck for his beverage.

“Again Moshassuck’s silver tide  
Reflects each green bush on its ride  
Each tasselled wreath and tangling vine,  
Whose tendrils o’er margin twine”!

So sang the Rhode Island poet, for today the bright, glittering brook runs by us, that ran by Nanuntenoo two centuries, and more, ago.

“For men may come and men may go,  
But it goes on forever.”

The great rocks protected the Indians from the cold north winds, while the southern sun warmed the openings of their “wigwams”. This word wigwam is English; the Indians knew no such word. It may have come from Wetuômuck, by which the Indians meant “at Home”. Quinsniket is now a hill, wild and beautiful as the Trossachs, but less large, and lacks their poet, Sir Walter Scott. A rudely constructed dam turns the watery maid on the hilltop into a beautiful pond, sheltered on every side, and fringed with wild woods and flowers. A pretty rivulet finds its way from the pond, among the rocks, to join the waters of the Moshassuck below. Years ago, Stephen H. Smith stocked this pond with Golden Carp; but Mr. Smith has departed, and the Golden Carp no longer delights the eye of the visitor. Mr. Smith now rests in the old Quaker Burying Ground hard by; and the meeting house where his ancestors sat, under the preaching of Job Scott, the most celebrated among the Rhode Island Quaker preachers, is still standing near. There is a long line of his ancestors, each resting place marked by a blue state, and all in keeping with each other. He was a man filled with that wisdom which only experience brings—more faithful to the cares and interests of others than to his own; a true indication of unselfish generosity. He lent the helping hand to nature; and that, with no stint. In the neighborhood he built

a fine stone mansion, and planted trees and shrubs, and flowers about it; and now its ivy mantled front stands in perfect harmony with the landscape; on Quinsniket Hill he planted lilies, rare ferns, and shrubs albeit unused to the neighborhood; that they might delight his own eyes as well as those who were to come, after him. It is now many years since a laborer was sent by Mr. Smith to gather a load of stones to be picked up for some purpose; but instead of picking them up the laborer removed, without knowing the interest in it, the last wigwam left by the Indians. This rude habitation had been preserved as a memorial of the former inhabitants. On the spot Mr. Smith planted a young "Honey" Locust, just by the spot where the Indians dwelt. When the writer wrote these lines, now many years since, this tree still stood, large and vigorous. It stood near a cluster of pines, with a hemlock among them, just below the "Rock House". We know nothing of the part played by Quinsniket in the Indian wars. But that it played a part there can be no doubt; and that, too, in the bloodiest of the battles, to the English, of which there is any record. It was, in fact, extermination. It was the last, but as well the greatest, victory gained by the Indians. The Wampanoags, under King Philip, after their attacks on Deerfield, and Springfield, and Hadfield, and Hatfield, fled by many paths, in bands of different numbers, to their native lands on the eastern shores of the Narragansett. Tradition says that some of these bands made Quinsniket a resting place in this retreat. It was near Quinsniket that the fight against Capt. Pierce took place. Capt. Pierce had come from Plymouth with a company of soldiers to attack the Indians, and had reached Rehoboth, where he learned of the Indians in numbers near the Pawtucket Falls, and determined to attack them. Before marching he sent a messenger to Capt. Andrew Edmonds, who then dwelt in Providence, to meet him at a place on the Pawtucket river and assist him in the attack. Capt. Edmonds did not receive the messenger in time to reach the field of battle until all was over, and Capt. Pierce and his company were all dead upon the field—save nine men captured, who were carried northward to a place known as "Camp Swamp"

and there tortured and slain. Capt. Andrew Edmonds was the most famous Indian Fighter who ever dwelt in Providence. His name figures in our Early Records in the capture of Indians and other incidents.

## QUANACONTAUG.

(28—29)

It is a name given in Charlestown, or Westerly, to a tract of land and to a pond. This pond is given in one Indian early plat as Neekequaw. (See Potter's Early Narrag. 304.) Trumbull also gives the word as Nekeequoweere and fixes it as Quonaquataug pond in Charlestown, R. I., and the Wecapaug brook as running into it (Indian Names in Connecticut, 37). This brook was the boundary between the Pequots and the Niantics when Roger Williams came, or before that year.

## QUOWATCHAUG—WATCHAUG.

(29)

The southern boundary of Rhode Island is the Atlantic Ocean. Along this coast the land is largely covered by inland waters, which have come now to be called Ponds; but they are not in reality ponds, but all, through inlets, are more or less subject to the ebb and flow of the tides. Lying in the town of Charlestown, exactly one mile north from the innermost shore of the inlet from the sea, known to the Niantics by the name Pawawget, is Watchaug Pond, as the name is now written. A ridge of highlands separates Watchaug from the ocean, notwithstanding its nearness. Two small streams enter it, but the outlet is Poquinock brook, flowing northeasterly into the Pawcatuck river.

The first mention in the early documents of the name occurs in the Deed of land by Canonicus and Miantinomi to Henry Hall and Richard Knight, known as Hall's purchase. It was made 19 January, 1664. It was said to contain two square miles. The final boundary of this purchase was not settled until 1708, when the Colonial General Assembly settled it, making the Usquepaug

river its western boundary. But it is only the Indian boundaries of the original deed which now interests us. These are Quamatucumpic on the east; Chippuachack on the south; Quowachauk on the west; and Winatompic on the north. Quowachauk is the name Watchang of to-day. It was not then applied to a pond, but to certain lands, now undefinable. In some early documents the name of the pond is given Chemunganset; in others Chemungannuck. Now the name Shamungannuck is given to a fine highland just north of Watchang pond; and upon this hill tradition says the ceremonies of inauguration of the Sachems and Saunks were performed. A few notes concerning the origin of these Indian words and their variations may not be without interest to the few students now left, interested in local history. The modern word Usquepaug in ancient records as given by Parsons in three forms is thus written, Usquebaug Osquepaug Wawoskepaug, is now the name of a river forming the western boundary of South Kingston, rising in Exeter, and running due south till it meets a stream flowing from Worden's pond, and thence running to Shannock Mills; then it becomes the Pawcatuck. Trumbull in a paper upon Indian local names in Rhode Island, written in 1872, gives Wowoskepaug, which, in the form Usquebaug, has a Celtic flavor. Judge Potter in his Early History of Narragansett gives Wauwoskopog, which he says was the name by which the Indians knew the lands sold to the Hall purchasers, described above—see Walling's Map of Rhode Island, 1854, upon which Judge Potter caused to be drawn so much antiquarian knowledge about the southern part of Rhode Island. The boundaries of Hall's purchase, which I have given, are taken from a deposition made by Joseph Davel, or Devol, a surveyor, in 1711. These purchasers named their purchase Westerly Manor, and from it came the present town. The word Watchaug was written originally Quowatchaug; it has been shortened by the English settlers to its present form.



## QUAWAWEHUNK.

(27)

This name is stated by Dr. Parsons to be that of the Swamp where the Great Fight took place on the 19th December, 1675. The Fort, described by Hubbard, is the only contemporary account which has been followed by all subsequent writers. Mr. Hubbard writes: "The Fort was raised upon a kind of Island of five or six acres of rising land in the midst of a swamp; the sides of it were made of Pallissadoes set upright, the which was compassed about with a hedge of almost a rod thickness, through which there was no passing, unless they could have fired a way through, which then they had no time to do. The place where the Indians used ordinarily to enter themselves was over a long tree upon a place of water, where but one man could enter at a time, and which was so way-laid that they would have been cut off that had ventured there; but at one corner there was a gap made up only with a long tree, about four or five feet from the ground, over which men might easily pass; but they had placed a kind of a Block House right over against the said tree from whence they sorely galled our men that first entered" (Hubbard's Troubles with the Indians, London, 1677, p. 52). There is another description of this Fort, also contemporary, published in London, 1676: "The next day about noon they (the Massachusetts and Plymouth army) came to a large swamp, which, by reason of the frost all the night before, they were able of going over, which else they could not have done. They forth-with in a body entered the said swamp, and in the midst thereof was a piece of timberland of about three or four acres of ground, whereon the Indians had built a kind of Fort, being Palisado'd round, and within that a clay wall, as also felled down abundance of trees to lay quite round the said Fort, but they had not quite finished the said work" (Continuation of the Present State of New England, London, 1676, p. 6).

## SEC-E-SA-KUT.

(9)

The earliest mention of the Indian locality Sec-e-sa-kut is

found in a deed from Wissawyamake, of land to Thomas Clemence, in 1654. The phrase read, "I Wissawyamke, an Ingen about the age of 23 yeares ould now dwelling at Sekescute ner providinc, have barganed and sould vnto thomas Clemones, of providinc on (one) medow, containjng about 8 akers, mor or less, a broke (brook) at each End, and a hille on the weaste sid of it, wenasbetuket rver on the other sid of it, and have sould vnto him the free vse of the rver allso" (Early Rec. p. 20). The phrase is certainly ambiguous. Secesakut may mean the place where the Indian lived, while the land which he sold might lie in another locality; but this interpretation is improbable. Indians did not dwell in one place and own land in other places. Secesakut must have been the place where the Indian lived, and also the name of the locality where the land lay which he sold. Let me endeavor to locate it: It was "near Providence,"—this means that it was nearer to the town of Providence than it was to what was subsequently known as the seven mile line, but it was outside the lines of Providence, and on the west side of the Woonasquetucket river. The lines of Providence in this direction were clearly written, running from Mashapaug pond straight to Neutakonkanut hill and thence direct to the fields at Pawtucket. An examination of the map will show that Secesakut must then have been on the river above Dyerville, and since I have shown in a former note that the locality along the west bank of the river between Merino village and Manton was the "place commonly called Venter," it must follow that Secesakut was above the village of Manton, in what is now the town of Johnston, and probably between the villages of Allendale and Lymansville. There being in the Early Records three other references to this locality, it becomes necessary to inquire whether this reasoning is sustained or weakened by them. The first reference is in a layout of land to Andrew Harris (Early Rec., p. 11). This confirms my reasoning, for reason that the east, and west, and north bounds of this Harris land was the "common" or unassigned lands, while the "south" bound was the land of John Fenner; the general location of these early Fenner lands is of the common knowledge of to-day. This Harris lay-

out dates in September, 1661. The next reference in order of time appears in a deed from James Ashton to William Carpenter, dated "ffeburarey in the yeare 1661" (Early Rec., p. 91). According to the Calendar then in use, February followed September in the order of the months. This reference also confirms my reasoning, for the reasons that Ashton declared his land to be bounded on the east by the land of Shadrach Manton, and on the west by Arthur Fenner's land, both of which bounds are sufficiently clear to those who understand such things to-day. The next and last reference to the word appears in a deed from John Smith to William Carpenter, made in November, 1662 (Early Rec., p. 77). This also confirms my reasoning, it being north of the lang bought by Clemence of Wissawyamake in 1654, which is above referred to, and adjoining the William Carpenter land so often mentioned. In this deed "Secesakut Hill" is for the first time referred to by this name; it is beyond question that this was the unnamed hill, mentioned as a bound in Wissawyamake's deed of 1654 to Clemence; the words were "a hille on the weaste sid of it." From all this, the location of Sec-e-sa-kut seems to me a matter of demonstration, as above written, on the west or southwest bank of the Woonasquetucket river, and between the villages of Allendale and Lymansville. Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Austin made reference in his Genealogical Dictionary to one of these land evidences in which the word appears, still the name is a new one, now first added to the Gazetteer of Rhode Island Indian. The men who uttered the word are gone, the word survives, another proof that it is the intangible alone which outlives time.

#### SOLITARY HILL.

#### (9)

The name is not of Indian origin, nor is it upon the Indian map, but it was so marked an object in the earliest years of the Providence plantation, and is so often mentioned in the Early Records, that I make a note concerning it.

There are many men now living who remember the location,

or what was supposed to have been the location, of Solitary Hill. The Hill has long since been supposed to have been removed. Its location has hitherto been placed in Olneyville, directly in the rear of the new brick building recently erected on the Square. It was a noted landmark in early times, and in the law of 1759 (Digest 1767, p. 259) it is made one of the boundaries of the town of Johnston, then incorporated (Staples's Annals of Prov., p. 595). One bound of Johnston was to "begin on the southern bank of Wanasquatucket River due north from the Easternmost part of a certain hill called Solitary Hill." There can be no question that this law made in 1759 places Solitary Hill where in these latter years it has been supposed to have stood. But there is in the recently published volume of Early Records a layout of land surveyed in 1671 for Thomas Clemence, which seems to render the position of the hill questionable. The bounds of the land are thus written, "being on the North side of Wanasquatucket River and against a place commonly called Goatom, it bounding on the South side with the aforesaid river, on the North with the comon, on the southeast partly with the comon and partly with the aforesaid river, it being bounded on the western corner with a maple tree standing by the aforesaid river side bounding on the Northern corner with a rock; and so to a Reed Oake tree which standeth by [the] river side, which said tree is on the north side of the river aforesaid against the north-eastern end of the hill comonly called Sollatary Hill" (Early Records, v. 1, p. 8). This record apparently places the hill on the northern side of the river; still, it is ambiguous and the phrase is open to two constructions; the location of the land seems, however, comparatively easy. It must have been a portion of the low land included in the bend of the river where the Atlantic and the Fletcher mills now stand, and hence the first English name of this locality was "Goatom."

This Hill, rising out of lands so flat standing solitary, and alone at some distance from the surrounding ranges, is suggestive at once of thought. In former ages a glacier came down from the north, resting here between the great hills Notaconkanet and Sky High, the Indian name of which I do not

know; by the melting of this glacier the bed of the Woonasquacket and Solitary Hill was formed. Not a vestige of this Hill now remains, but the scratches of the glacier still exist upon the rocks of the Hill Sky High.

## THE SEVEN MILE LINE.

This line was established at a town meeting (not by the Town Council) of the Proprietors or Free Men of the town of Providence, 14th May, 1660 (Early Rec. 2, 128, 129). Thomas Harris, a brother of William Harris, was Moderator, or Presiding officer, of the meeting, or, as it called itself, "This present Assembly". The laws read "that the bounds of this town of Providence for the first division shall be set from the hill called Foxes Hill, seven miles upon a west line, and at the end of the west line to go upon a 'strait' line north unto Pawtucket river, and upon a 'straight' line south unto Pawtuxet river. And all the lands beyond these bounds present fixed according to our Deeds to be disposed of as this town shall see cause, any former land, or clause therein to the contrary notwithstanding" (Early Rec. 2, 129). Foxes Hill was the spot where now stands the Home for Aged Women in Providence. The point of departure of the line was the source of the Pocasset river, then known as the "Great Cedar Swamp," a name then common, like Sugar Loaf Hill, to every group of settlers. The English then called the Pocasset stream the "Cedar Swamp Brook," a name which did not long continue, notwithstanding it appears on the Walling map of 1855. The actual distance of the line from Foxe's Hill was eight and a half miles. The fixing of this line was the next succeeding step following the three "Confirmation" Deeds, as they were named, dated 29th May, 1659; 13th August, 1659; 1st December, 1659. The Sachem who signed the first deed above was Cojonaquand, a son of Canonicus; it was thought best in consideration of his degraded condition, to obtain the signature of his son also. This was secured on the 28th April, 1660. Sixteen days later the Town Meeting was held which fixed the Seven Mile Line, a brother of William Harris presiding. It is necessary to understand why these three Deeds were called "Confirmation Deeds" and to understand what they confirmed.

There is an undated clause (and not signed by the Grantors) underneath the Deed given by Canonicus and Miantinomi to Roger Williams in this language: "This was all again confirmed by Miantinomi he acknowledged this his act and up the stream of Pawtucket and Pawtuxet without limit we might have for our use of cattle" (R. I. Hist. Tract, Sec. Ser. 4, 21). The date on the recorded copy of this Deed and the signature of Roger Williams are both forgeries. It was this transaction which led to the personal fixing of bounds, consisting of natural objects, by Miantinomi and set forth in a preceding paper. William Arnold and William Harris advanced the theory that this phrase, used in the preceding clause, to wit, "Up the stream of Pawtucket and Pawtuxet without 'limmits' we might have for our use of cattle," was an absolute conveyance to Williams and by him to the thirteen first Proprietors. If admitted it conveyed all the lands in Rhode Island north of what is now the town of Exeter. But it was denied by Williams and by every other honest man in the town. Thereupon, secretly, William Harris obtained by a sufficiency of Wampum the three Deeds from the Sachems who had succeeded Canonicus and Miantinomi, confirming his view that these great Sachems did intend to convey to Williams "all the land between the streams of these rivers and up these streams without limits for their use of cattle—as feeding, ploughing, planting, all manner of Plantations whatsoever" (R. I. Hist. Tract, Sec. Ser. 4, 75). A tract of land about sixteen (16) by twenty-eight (28) miles thus came into the possession of the "men of Providence and the men of Pawtuxet". There were 450 square miles; about 300,000 acres of land. Eight-thirteenths of these lands would have gone as private property to Arnold, and Harris, and three or four of their associates. Such was the prize. The Seven Mile Line was to prevent new men admitted as Freemen to any ownership in the lands west of it, unless specifically sold by the real owners. The land and the line remained, but the scheme collapsed; but it was after a long struggle.

SHANNOCK.

(26)

This is now the name of a post village in the southerly bound of

the town of Richmond. It was first given in our histories by Judge Potter (Hist. Narrag. p. 305) in 1835. Judge Potter says, "still so called," but he does not inform us what is still so called, nor since when it was originally so called; then he follows with this: "Mishanneke, a squirrel? Key 95," by which he means that by referring to Williams's Key to the Indian Language, page 95, you will find the word, *Misshanneke*, which means a squirrel, and he makes a query, whether this word Shannock was not thus derived and has that meaning. Judge Potter has also noted in this connection the Indian word given by Mr. Williams in the 12th chapter of the Indian Key, *Mishannock*, which Williams defines as the "Morning Starre". It is evident that Judge Potter thought that the modern *Shannock* came from one of these words.

Next came Dr. Usher Parsons in 1861, with *Shannock*, which name he applies to a river in North Stonington, Conn., notwithstanding he is giving only Indian names in Rhode Island, and with Dr. Parsons the query by Potter becomes actual assertion. He says the word means "squirrel river".

Then came the Rev. Mr. Denison in 1878, and gives the word, which he applies to "Hills in the southeast corner of Richmond," signifies "squirrel," thus following Parsons, who had stamped certainty upon Potter's guess.

Then came Dr. Trumbull, with his "Indian Names of Connecticut," 1881, with the words *Shannock* and *Shunock*, which he says is a river in North Stonington, Conn. He says the word is equivalent to the Mohegan word *Shawwunk*, which means "place where two streams meet." Dr. Trumbull also gives *Shanock* applied to a hill in the southerly part of Richmond, west of *Ashuniunk* [Charles] river, for which statement Trumbull quotes Parsons (page 10); at this place Parsons gives the word "*Ashunaiunk*, a river in Richmond, probably *Beaver* river." Then continues Trumbull: "Transferred from the river, or rather from the point of junction of Wood and Charles rivers," wherein Trumbull is confused, or the explanations cease to explain. The third notice of the word *Shannuck* which Trumbull gives is to a "river so called by the Indians, and by the English, *Paugatuck*," for which he quotes a Report of a "Connecticut" Committee on the Narragansett lands

made in 1677. The language of this report on these points is as follows:

"Allsoe we have taken a survey of a place called by the Indians Chippachoog, in which tract of land are meadows lying in two places, one being a boggy mead, by which are severall playnes of very good land for corn, which place will give entertaynment sufficient to six score families at least; the said tract of land lying southwest from the Sunk Squaw's (Quaiapen) plantation, being about eight miles from the harbor at Capt. Hudson's house, that land being bounded by a great pond, *Asqueebapaguck* (probably Worden's), on the west and on the northernmost branch of a river called by the Indians, *Shannuck*, and by the English, *Paugatuck*.

"Alsoe we apprehend that on the west of *Shannuck*, alias *Paugatuck* river, being situate on the west of the foresayd *Chippachoog*, there is sufficient land both meadow and upland to accommodate four score families." (R. I. Col. Rec., v. 2, p. 596.)

Possibly, this matter can be more clearly stated. There is a river emptying into *Little Narragansett Bay*, thence into Long Island Sound, which river separates Rhode Island from Connecticut at this point, and separating the towns of Westerly, Charlestown, and South Kingstown from Stonington, Hopkinton, and Richmond. This river is now known as the Pawcatuck. In 1677 the Indians called this river, *Shannuck*, and the English called it *Paugatuck*. The English application of a name has survived. On a map of 1824 a portion of this river, that running from Worden's pond to the mouth of Wood river, was called "Charles" river, and it is to this section that Trumbull has in 1881 applied the name. Shewunck is a spelling given in R. I. Colony Records 4, 278.

Strangely enough, this word *Paugatuck* is omitted by Trumbull from his *Indian Names*. It is surely Indian; possibly it was applied to the lower *Pawcatuck*, while to the upper portion the name *Shannuck* was given.

In further illustration of the word *Ashuniunk*, Potter says it was either *Beaver* or *Usquepaug* river. This latter was the continuation of the *Pawcatuck* above Worden's pond. The earliest mention of *Ashuniunk*, a river, occurs in the Indian deed, *Wanumachon*, to Stanton, in 1662. (Potter's *Narragansett*, p. 66.)



The interpretation of the word *Shannock*, as rendered by Parsons and Denison, from Potter's query, "Squirrel," is rejected by Trumbull. He says: "You need not hesitate to reject his (Dr. Parsons) interpretation. The name of an animal was never used by the Indians as the name of a place (locality) or river. They might give to woodlands or to a hill the designation of 'a place where squirrels are plenty' or to the like; but they did not call hill, woodland, or river, a squirrel." (Rhode Island Census, 1885, page 95.)

It is positively certain that in the earliest period of any English knowledge of these lands, the Indians knew two specific streams by precisely similar names,—*Paugatuck* or *Shannock*; or it is equally certain that in applying these names to two different rivers the Englishmen have become confused. The names appear in the earliest records in North Stonington, Conn., and also to a much larger stream in Southwestern Rhode Island.

There is a spelling, "Shawnuck," applied to a river in Connecticut flowing south and emptying into the Pawcatuck. It is upon a map which appears in Bowen's *Boundary Disputes*, page 46, and is therein written in a document dated 1720. In this same document which appears the name, "Ashewag" river, a name now written *Asheway*.

## SOGKONATE.

(35)

The southeasternmost point of Rhode Island is a rocky mass extending into the Atlantic Ocean known by sundry names now best expressed by the word *Saconet*. Recent inquiry has induced the writer to print this note concerning the origin and evolution of the word. The earliest mention of it in colonial annals occurs in *Plym. Col. Rec.*, v. 5, p. 216, where is recorded in 1661 the "purchase att *Saconett*." The next year, 1662, an Indian complained to the colonial government that Wamsitta had sold his (this Indian's) land at *Saconett*; later in the same year occurs another reference to the place, referring to "all those lands from Cape Codd to *Saconett Point*" (*Plm. Col. Rec.*, v. 4, pp. 17-62). This same spelling appears in the caption to an agreement between the colonial government and Awashonks, the famous Squaw Sachem, made in

1671 (Mass. Hist. Col. 1st Ser., v. 5, p. 193; also Plym. Col. Rec., v. 5, p. ). Increase Mather write, in 1676, a History of the War with the Indians. In the edition of this work, published in 1862, edited by S. G. Drake, the word is spelled Sakonet (p. 170); this same book, at page 172, gives Cotton Mather's History of the same war, in which the word is rendered Saconet; the same form appears in Mather's Magnalia, folio, London, 1702, p. 53, seventh book. In 1677, Hubbard's Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians was published in London; at pages 105, 106, is given this same form, Sakonet; an edition of Mr. Hubbard's Narrative was published at Boston in 1775, in which the word was corrupted to Seaconet. On the 6th June, 1682, the "inhabitants of Saconet" were incorporated—"shalbe a towneship" were the words of the law (Plym. Col. Rec., v. 6, p. 88). This same form is found on a manuscript Chart now in the British Foreign Records Office, which chart was made in July, 1684. The History of Philip's War, by Capt. Church, was published in 1716; the name appeared in the book in this extraordinary form—Sogkonate,—and so it appears in all the editions of Capt. Church's book; it was the result of the general ignorance so prevalent at the beginning of the 18th century. The second edition of Capt. Church's book, published in 1772, has a Life of Capt. Church, written by President Stiles, in which the name is given, Seconet. There was printed in the Mass. Hist. Col., 3d ser., v. 6, p. 188, a narrative of the Indian and French wars, written by Mr. Niles, who died in 1762; he wrote the name, Saconet. On the Harris map of Rhode Island, 1795, the name is given, Seakonet, and the same form is given on the Blaskowitz chart, London, 1777. Morse, in the American Gazetteer, 1804, says "Seconnet, or Seakonnet"; Pease in the Gazetteer of Rhode Island, 1819, page 356, says "the Indian name was Seconnet"; in this Gazetteer was inserted Lockwood's map of Rhode Island, on which the name is given Seakonnet. There is a paragraph about the Saugkonnet Indians in Mass. Hist. Coll., 1st Ser., v. 10, p. 114, written by some one probably concerned in the publication of the volume in 1809; in the very same paragraph the name is twice given, Saconet, cleverly showing the looseness of writers. The form, Sogkonate, used by Capt. Church, again appears in Mass. Hist. Coll., 1st Ser., v. 9,

p. 204, which was published in 1804. In the edition of Morton's N. E. Memorial, published in 1826, edited by Davis, there is printed (page 480) a list of the original Corporations or Plantations in Plymouth Colony; Saconet is one of them. In this list Judge Davis states that this Saconet plantation was annexed to Rhode Island in 1741; this is an error; the decree of the King bears date 1746. Francis Baylies, writing his History of Plymouth Colony, 1830, uses the form Saconet,—book 1, p. 44, and again book 3, p. 3, and again book 4, p. 17. Mr. Baylies says; "the Indian name of Little Compton was Saconet"; in a foot note, book 4, p. 62, Mr. Baylies says, "Col. Church writes the name Sogkonate, which was probably conformable to the Indian pronunciation." S. G. Drake, a voluminous writer upon Indian matters, uses in his *Indian Biography*, 1832, the form, Sogkonates (p. 341); in his *Old Indian Chronicle*, 1837, pages 73, 74, Seconets; in his *Book of Indians*, 1841, book 3, p. 65, Sogkonate; in a foot note, same page, Mr. Drake says "commonly called Seconet." In the Report of the U. S. Coast Survey for the year 1870, the name is three times written Saughkonnet—a corruption original with the individual who wrote the Report; in this volume is the chart made by the Government Coast Survey, and first issued in 1873, the name is given Sakonnet. The publishers of the Asher & Adams Atlas, 1872, followed the original corruption of the Report of the U. S. Coast Survey, Saughkonnet—probably a joke of some boy in the Government employ. Gray's Atlas, 1878, gives "Sakonnet," or "Seaconnet," as the name of the "Point". The Rhode Island Manual, first issued in 1872-3, gave the name, Seaconnet, and so it still continues. The easternmost arm of Narragansett Bay upon the earliest maps, down to the Coast Survey chart of 1873, always appeared as the "East Passage"; on this Government chart this water was given the name Sakonnet River, and so on all the later atlases it is as now appears. Concerning the meaning of the name nothing is known. Dr. Usher Parsons is the only person who has ever attempted to define the word; his definition is given in his "Indian Names of Places in Rhode Island," page 5, thus: "Sogkonate is compounded of *Seki*, 'black,' and *konk*, 'goose,' and the syllable *et* is a locative; thus *Seki-konk-et*, Seconknet, Seconet, equivalent to 'black-goose-place.'" This defini-

tion is ridiculed by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull (see Church's Philip's War, edition of 1865, edited by H. M. Dexter, page 2); but Trumbull attempted no definition. I have stated above that Sakonet River, on the Coast Survey chart, had always appeared under the name, East Passage, before the issue of that chart, but there is one exception; on the Blaskowitz chart of 1777 the name Seakonnet Passage was given to it. It was to this passage that the Northmen gave the name H'op. See the account under the head herein of Mount Hope.

## SOWAMS—SOWAMSET.

(19)

This was the name of an undefined land on which the town of Warren stands today. In all the earlier records it will be observed that Sowams, Kickamuet and Pokanoket were always used in connection; and the fact of contiguity, and all lying easterly of the Warren, or as it was first known, the Sowams, River, points clearly to Warren as Sowams. The land was bought from Massasoit in 1653 (Fessenden's Hist. Warren, R. I., 56). There has been much controversy concerning the precise locality of Sowams—some contending for Warren; other contending for Barrington; and still others Mount Hope. Fessenden (Hist. of Warren, 1845) makes a strong case for Warren. But one of the reasons on which he rests is comical. He says: "A map of New England originally published in 1677, republished in 1826, in Morton's Memorial (Davis's ed.), has a crown marked upon it to denote the residence of the principal Sachem; this crown is not placed on the seaward end of Mount Hope or any other neck; nor is it on the west side of Warren River, but exactly where Warren stands" (page 26). When this map was printed Massasoit had been dead sixteen years; Alevander, his son, fifteen years; and Philip, his other son, one year; but there is no pretence that King Philip ever lived at Warren.

The earliest mention in recorded history of the name of Sowams, or its variations, occurs in the Patent granted to Plymouth settlers, 13th January, 1629. The phrases are, "The mouth of the said river called Narragansetts river to the utmost limitts and bounds of a

country or place in New England called Pokanocutt, *alias* Sowamsett;” again, “as the utmost limits of the said place commonly called Pokenocutt *alias* Sowamsett” (Plym. Col. Laws, p. 23). Concerning the meaning of the word Sowams, Mr. Tooker thinks it means “South Country or Southward—”. Mr. Tooker doubtless derives his idea from Williams’s Indian word, *Sowwanin*, which means southwest—but Mr. Trumbull defines it to mean “a place of Beach trees”. How it is possible to reach two conclusions so very different shows how difficult it is for modern scholars to discover the meaning of Indian words, or to construct sentences in the Indian languages. There was a pond not far from the present town of Warren with the Indian name Assowamset.

## SENECHATACONET.

## (3)

It was the Indian name of the land once called the Attleborough Gore, now the town of Cumberland, R. I. It came by the Rehoboth north purchase made in 1661. Plymouth then held it, but it came to Rhode Island by the charter of Charles the Second in 1663 (Daggett’s Hist. Attleborough, 15). The jurisdiction of it in Rhode Island was not acknowledged by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which body had “swallowed” the Plymouth Colony. The inhabitants desired to be within the Government of Rhode Island, and so petitioned many times (Digest of R. I. Laws, 1730, p. 213). The King fixed the bounds in 1746.

## SHAW-OMET.

It is the name given by the Indians to the lands sold to Samuel Gorton and his eleven companions in 1642. This fact appears in *Simplicities’ Defence*, London, 1646 (p. 31). The word is there written Shawo-met. On page 33 of the same book it is divided as it stands at the head of this note. Mr. Trumbull prints this note concerning the word: “*Mishawomut*, contracted to *Shawomet*, the name of Gorton’s purchase of Warwick Neck, describes a ‘place to which boats go,’ generally, a landing place at an indentation of the coast on one side of a peninsula or point of land. In Boston, the

same name (written *Mishawomuck*) has been corrupted to *Shawmut*, and Boston men prefer to derive this from an imaginary Indian word which they believe to mean 'a great spring.' (Potter's Early Hist. Narr., 2d ed., 410.)

Shawomet is the name of a tongue of land on Mount Hope Bay, east of Metapoiset.

## SETUAT.

(8)

The town of Scituate was incorporated in February, 1731, as we now write the years. Why it was so named is not stated in the act (Digest of R. I. Laws, 1730, p. 223), nor is it quite clear. Dr. C. W. Parsons gives the reason to be on account of a recent emigration of families from the Massachusetts town, Scituate. This emigration, quoting Rev. C. C. Beaman, the Town Historian, Parsons fixes in 1710. It is possible that this is true; indeed, one of my own ancestors, Amos Turner, was one of the men who came. But the word is Indian, and while we have no early Indian record containing it, it is true, nevertheless. Gov. Bradford (Hist. Plymouth, 440, gives the form Sityate. Mr. Baylies Plymouth, 1, 279) gives two forms, Satuit-Setauat. The Plymouth Col. Records gives the form Setuat, which we have followed. Stephen Hopkins was born on Chapomeset Hill in 1710. This Hill is now in the town of Scituate. There was a pond in Massachusetts with the Indian name Satuite.

## SAWGOGUE—SQUAKHEAGUE.

(22)

This was the home of Canonchet. It was near the Devil's Foot Rock. It had been the home of Canonicus and Miantinomi. The Queen's Fort was just southwest (23-24). There was also an English settlement at Squakheague near Springfield, Mass. It was destroyed in September, 1675 (Hubbard Indian Wars, 1677, p. 133).

## SCATACOCKE.

(16)

This is an Indian name of a locality. The precise situation cannot be fixed. It is a name to a locality, according to Trumbull, on the Housatonic River. It is also a name of a village in Rensselaer County, N. Y., on the Hudson River, spelled Schaghticoke. The name there used Trumbull defines as "The place where a river branches or divides"—"at the branch". There is no such condition attached to *Scatacok* in Rhode Island. This definition seems to have been a favorite with Dr. Trumbull. He defines Pascoag "land at the branch, or crotch of a river". Chepachet, "the division or fork of a river". Wunnashowatuckkut, "at the crotch of a river". Pishgachtigok, "the confluence of two streams". This indicates a copious condition which the Indian dialects have not been supposed to possess.

## SACONASET.

(10)

This name appears in a Harris document of 1667 (Coll. Hist. Soc., v. 10, p. 207). In some transfers it is mentioned as a Hill. It is doubtless the hill Sockanosset of our times.

## SHINSKATUCK—SHENSKONET.

(4)

These are names of brooks, or hills, in what is now Gloucester. They were in transfers of land, the first in 1708; the last in 1705, recorded in the Proprietors' Records, which have now been destroyed by a fire in Providence.

## SCAMSCAMNEK.

(18)

Is the name of a spring on the neck of land known to the English as Rumstick, opposite Warren.

## SETAMACHUT.

(9)

This name is attached to a hill in the town of Johnston, on our Indian map. This hill is near the village of Manton on the southwest bank of the Wanasquatucket river. In order to fix the location of this hill I submit a few points. On the 27th July, 1703, the town of Providence ordered a committee "to repair a highway from said river westward over Sissamachute hill". The words "said river" refer to "Neotaconkonit river" (Early Rec. xi., 77). This river was the small stream which ran from what we now know as Ochee Spring, flowing across the Killingly road into the Wanasquatucket river.

In May, 1667, fifty acres of land was laid out to Thomas Harris in the division ordered two years before. This land was between "the Safoen mil lin and the fower mill line on the hea..er sid of Settemeechevt heall towards the Riavear ayt score polle long and fiftie broad". Here I follow the terrible illiteracy given in the printed Early Records (vol. 15, p. 115). I will attempt an English translation: "Between the seven mile line, and the four mile line, on the hither side of Setamachut hill, towards the river (Wanasquatucket) eight score (160) poles long, etc." In 1677 the town of Providence laid out to Roger Williams thirty-three acres of land on the northern end of a hill called Setamachut (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 177). Mr. Williams gave this land to his grandson, John Sayles. The town ratified the act 27th October, 1680. It was then stated to be on the east side of Setamachut. In May, 1667, fifty acres of land, "upon the second division," ordered in 1665, was laid out to William Harris. "It lieth in a vallie, on the north east side of Neotaconkanett river near Shichemachute hill" (Prov. Early Rec. 5, 317). In 1685, John Sheldon, of Pawtuxet, deeded land to his son "on ,or near, Sichamachute hill, bounded partly *with the common* and partly by the land of Daniel Williams" (Prov. Early Rec. 5, 47). On the 12th January, 1703, fifty acres was given on the right of William Harris "lieing and being about five miles westward from the salt water harbor in said Providence, on the eastwardly part of the hill called Sissamachute" (Prov. Early Rec. 5, 51). There are



other references in the Early Records, but these cited indicate clearly the exact position of this hill. My reason for this minute detail is the fact that there now exists upon this hill a very ancient Lime Kiln, and my purpose is to identify this ancient structure with that mentioned in the Providence Early Records, as follows:

## (1)

The printed record reads: "—— as Hackelton makeing his request unto the Towne —— have liberty to burne lime upon the Comon neere about —— and to take stones and wood for the same purpose —— by vote that he may have libertye until —— next and no longer." (Prov. Early Rec. 3, 8.) The time of this action was 27 January, 1662.

## (2)

Again: "It is ordered that those lime rockes about Hackleton's lime killne shall be ppetually common and that no land shall be laid out on the northeast and southeast of the said kilne within 6 poles, nor upon the other sides, or partes of the saide kilne within 60 poles. This saide kilne being att or neere a place called Scoaquequanocsett." (Prov. Early Rec. 3, 66.) The time of this action was 27 October, 1665.

## (3)

Gregory Dexter, on the 27th, 11th mo, 1672, gave to his son Stephen four acres of land "at a place commonly called Soconoxit which was laid out to me by Thomas Harris—also—I give him my right of meadow in one share in the new division all I say of the said 80 acres I do give to my foresaid son Stephen for him and his heirs \* \* as their own proper inheritance whilst mortality lasteth with all the immunities and privileges upon and *in that 80 acres, only excepting which I do really except*, this privilege for the Inhabitants of the town of Providence to fetch for their use as much lime rock from the Rock called Hackelton's Rock as they please" (Prov. Early Rec. 3, 229). Here were two different bodies of land, one, four acres near Sockanosset laid out by Harris; the other, 80 acres, which came "in the new division". This "new division" was

made in February, 1665. Dexter drew the 15th chance (Prov. Early Rec. 3, 72). The reference to Hackleton's Rock applies only to the 80 acre parcel.

(4)

At a town meeting, 24th May, 1673, a return of lands laid out to certain individuals was made. One "lay out" reads as follows: "Laid out unto Gregory Dexter own lot adjoining to his own land at Hackington's rock, in length northerly and southerly one hundred and six poles," etc. (Prov. Early Rec. 3, 241). These four entries contain all that is known of Hackleton, or Hackleton's Rock, or Hackelton's Lime Kiln. The first was made in 1661-2; the last in 1672.

On the map of Providence Plantations (Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc., v. 10, p. 376), Hackelton's Rock is located in Smithfield, as being a part of the Dexter Lime Rocks. This view is maintained by a communication signed G. R. T. and published in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, 8th May, 1904. It is as follows:

*To the Editor of the Sunday Journal:*

I notice an article in the *Journal* of April 3 upon an old limekiln situated in Manton. This was identified with the Hackelton's limekiln so frequently mentioned in the early Providence records. As it can be proved without a shadow of doubt that Hackelton's limekiln was situated near the site of the present Dexter lime rocks in the town of Lincoln, I am taking the trouble to correct the statement in your article. On January 27, 1662, Thomas Hackelton was granted liberty by the town to burn lime at a certain place upon the common. On October 27, 1665, the town ordered that the lime rocks about Hackelton's limekiln, which was mentioned as being near Scoak-quanocsett, should remain in common. On January 27, 1672, Gregory Dexter deeded to his son Stephen four acres at Scockonoxit, reserving the rights of Providence people to use lime at Hackelton's rock. This all proves that the rock in question was at Scockanoxett and was part of the Dexter land. Now there are many deeds in the Providence records to show that Scockanoxett was the region of the present Dexter lime rocks in Lincoln and that the brook flowing through it was called Scockanoxett Brook. For instance, in one

deed of 1723 from Thomas Thurston to William Jenckes a lot of 150 acres is described as being bounded east by the Pawtucket or the present Blackstone River, with Sockanoxett Brook flowing through the western part of it, the land extending "up the said brook westerly to the land of John Dexter." In fact, the region has long been known to students of local history to have been the site of the early Hackelton's limekiln, and the fact has never previously been questioned, so far as has come to my knowledge.

G. R. T.

CENTRAL FALLS, May 4.

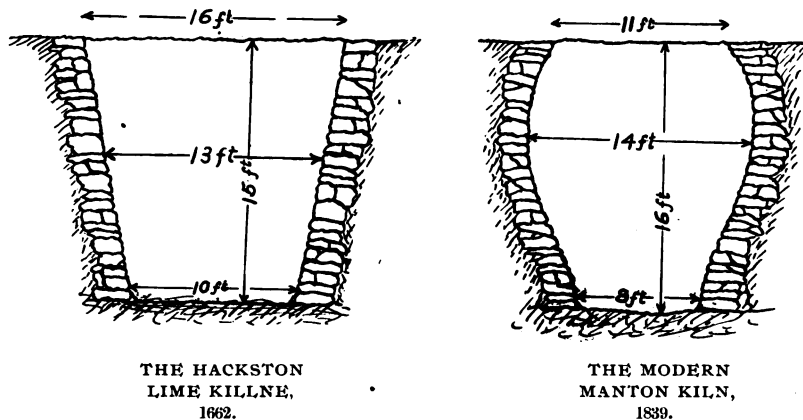
I am not in accord with the positions of "Hackelton's Rock and Sockanoxet" (sic) as fixed on the map in the Historical Society volume (*Hist. Col.*, v. 10, p. 376). The compiler of the map seems to have followed the views of G. R. T. as set forth in the preceding communication. Both these statements are erroneous, as I will presently show.

Under the name Sockanossett is discussed the origin and meaning of the name. It was the name of a Narragansett Sachem. In 1677 William Harris brought an action against John Towers for trespass under "a pretended purchase of our (Harris's) land at Pawtuxet, Toskaunk & Soconaset" (*Coll. Hist. Soc.* 10, p. 207). Is it to be supposed that a parcel of land contiguous to the Dexter Lime rocks, could be at the same time contiguous to Pawtuxet, Toskaunk and Soconaset? It is an absurdity.

I here present the dimensions of the kiln on Setamachut—16 feet diameter at the top; 13 feet diameter at the center; and 10 feet diameter at the bottom. It is 15 feet in depth. This was the earliest form used. The second drawing represents the changes made in the form of construction in lapse of time. I give the measurements as given by Mr. Jackson: Diameter at top, 11 feet; center, 14 feet; bottom, 8 feet; depth, 16 feet. (*Jackson's Geology of R. I.*, 80.) These facts show that the kiln at Setamachut is the rudest and most ancient now in existence in Rhode Island. These two drawings represent kilns on Setamachut Hill; one is now in existence; the others (there were two) have been torn down since 1840.

The original permission given to the inhabitants to burn lime in

Hackleton's kiln was in January, 1661-62. This permission was to be "upon the common near about". At that time the town meeting had no knowledge of the acquisition of the lands which contained the Smithfield Lime Rocks. These lands came by the "Confirmation Deeds" obtained by William Harris. The people knew nothing of



these Deeds until they were put upon record in May, 1662. These lime rocks were ten miles north of Providence; while the Setamachut lime rocks were only four miles distant, west. When the town gave "Hackleton" permission, it was to burn "upon the common near about". This fact is destructive to the theory that Hackleton's Rock was a portion of the Smithfield Lime Rocks.

The town of Providence had no jurisdiction over "Common Lands" in 1661-62 in what is now known as Smithfield. There was a law which provided "that all the land in the Neck between Pawtucket river and the Moshausic river, beginning at the north end of the field, which lieth between Pawtucket River and the great Swamp, and to go upon a line unto the place where the third lake runneth into Moshausick river; all the land from these places prefixt between these two rivers *southwardly* unto the hill called Fox's hill, which hath not been orderly laid out shall remain still in common". (Prov. Early Rec. 3, p. 21.) This was absolute destruction to the idea that Hackleton's Rock was part of the Dexter lime rocks in Smithfield. The common lands did not extend north of this line,

but only south, while all the Smithfield lands were north. The "common near about" the town meeting, at Providence, did not lie north ten miles from that meeting.

The "third lake" mentioned above was the name of a small brook which ran from the Great Swamp into the Moshassuck river (Prov. Early Rec. 14, 208). The Great Swamp was the bound fixed by Miantinomi in 1642, to which the English then gave the name "Absolute Swamp".

The Smithfield Lime Rocks had not been discovered at the time when the town meeting of Providence made the first "Hackleton" order in 1661-2.

Mr. Jackson in giving an account of the Dexter Rock in Smithfield, writing in 1840, says: "The establishment is ancient, having been quarried and burnt for more than eighty years" (Jackson's Geology of Rhode Island, p. 67). This would be, making the beginning of the burning, between 1750 and 1760. I hold that Hackleton's Lime Rock was, and now is, on lands known in recent times as the Nathan Brown Farm, four miles from Providence. There were Lime Kilns, in modern form, on this farm when Mr. Jackson wrote in 1840. And a large excavation is still there, showing where Hackleton, or Hackleton, or Hackington, or Hackston's Rock, could be hacked by the inhabitants. Mr. Jackson says: "I visited the farm of Mr. Nathan Brown, four miles from Providence (in Johnston), and there examined an extensive bed of lime stone *which was wrought for lime before the discovery of the Smithfield lime Rocks*" (Jackson's Geology of R. I., 1840, p. 80). The third mention of Hackleton's rock above was by Gregory Dexter in his Deed to his son Stephen. I there followed the printed volume of the Providence Early Records. But a most significant error was made. The original Record reads *Hackstons Rock*, and not Hackleton's Rock.

These Early Records are again seriously in error (page 66, v. 3,) in giving the name "Hackleton's Lime Kiln". The name is as early "Hackstons' Lime Kiln".

Thomas Wright defines the word "Hackle" as meaning, in the provincial English dialect of Lincolnshire, "to dig up," and this is precisely what the inhabitants of Providence were permitted to do with "Hackstons" or, as it has been sometimes printed, "Hackle-

ton's") (Prov. Early Rec., v. 3, p. 229). To form such words was characteristic of the English of that age. In Somersetshire, England, at a place called Stanton Drew is a huge stone to which tradition has fixed the legend that it was a quoit thrown by some one in the Middle Ages. To this stone has come down the name "Hackell's Coit". Shadwell in one of his "Plays" (1672) has a character, Captain Hackum. He was an impudent "bully" always in a row.

Richardson gives the word "Hackle" as having been derived from the Dutch word "Hackelen," which word meant "to cut or hack into small pieces". No man by name of Hackleton, or Hackelton, or Hackington, or Hackston, I think, ever dwelt in Providence; and certainly no man with such a name was then a freeman here. It was probably a fiction, or "man of straw," in the construction of which these ancient Englishmen were so fond. I will give a few specimens: John O'Noakes, Tom a'Styles, John Doe, and Richard Roe—all well known men of straw to the Providence Town Meeting, when in 1661-2 it gave permission to "—— as Hackelton" to Hack and burn Lime. At that time men supposed that a personalty was necessary in legal and legislative matters; just as the lawyers supposed that they must have a John Doe or Richard Roe in their legal documents.

The fact that a century, or a century and a half later there dwelt in Warwick men named "Hackstone", does not bear upon the meaning of the Act of 1661-2. The name disappeared in 1672, and does not again appear until 1763.

It remains only for me to consider critically the statements which I have denounced in the communication signed G. R. T. herein reproduced. By examination it will be seen that G. R. T. has not followed the record. There is no name "Thomas" upon the record. The words "certain place" used by him are not upon the record; and the words "neere about", which are upon the record, he has omitted. Let him follow the record, and his theory that Hackelton's or Hackington's rock was a part of the Dexter lime rocks at Smithfield is at once destroyed. G. R. T.'s reproduction of the second paragraph is worse than was his work with the first paragraph; and this following is worse than all the rest. He says: "On the 27th

January, 1672, Gregory Dexter deeded to his son Stephen four acres at Scockonoxit, reserving the rights of the people of Providence to use lime at Hackleton's rock." He continues: "This all proves that the rock in question was at 'Scockanoxett' (*sic*) and was part of the Dexter land". This is an utterly false statement. This Dexter deed covers two parcels of land. The first, of four (4), acres at a place (commonly called Socconoxit". The second conveys (80) acres" in the new division"; and it was in this latter parcel, all reference to which G. R. T. has omitted, that the reference to Hackston's rock, not Hackleton's rock, appears. The rights reserved to the people by Dexter were in connection with this latter parcel. G. R. T. says Dexter deeded to Stephen "four acres at Scocknoxit". Dexter's record read "four acres of land at a *place commonly called* Socconoxit". G. R. T. omitted the words "a place commonly called". Was there any place in the lands now known as the Dexter Lime Rocks, or the lands now known as Smithfield, which was commonly known in 1672 as Sockanosset? It is the merest sham. There is not a word of truth in G. R. T.'s communication. There is not now nor was there ever any limestone quarried at Sockanosset. The Deed of 1723 cited by G. R. T., even if true, has not the slightest historic bearing upon the question of Hackstons Rock or Hackleton's Rock.

The permission given to Hackleton applied not to an individual, but to every inhabitant of the town.

The name appears first in the original manuscripts as Hackleton; then twice as Hackston; and last as Hackington.

I know not at present the time when Gregory Dexter and William Harris obtained titles to the lime rock quarries, now known in Smithfield. But it was after 1661-2, at which time the earliest Hackleton entree appears of record, and before 1669. It was in August of the latter year that Roger Williams wrote to Gov. Winthrop concerning the Dexter Lime Rocks, in which he said: "Sir, I have encouraged Mr. Dexter to send you a limestone and to salute you with this enclosed. He is an intelligent man, a master printer of London, and conscienable (though a Baptist), therefore maligned and traduced by William Harris (a doleful generalist). Sir, if there be any occasion of yourself, or others, to use any of

this stone, Mr. Dexter hath a lusty team, and lusty sons, and a very willing heart, being a sanguine, cheerful man to do yourself or any (at your word especially) service upon my honest and cheap consideration" (Narr. Club 6, 331). It is clear that Gregory Dexter acquired the ownership of the "Smithfield" quarries, at least, three years before he gave the deed of 1672 to Stephen hereinbefore discussed.

Is it probable that William Harris, or Gregory Dexter, having obtained individual titles to lands outside of Providence, now known as the Smithfield lime quarries, would recognize the Hackston concession made years before to hack and burn lime free of anybody?

If my conclusions rest upon a sound foundation, Hackstons, or Hackleton's, or Hackington's Lime Kiln is the most ancient structure built by English hands now existing in Rhode Island.

## SOCKANOSSETT.

(10)

Such is the present recognized spelling of this Indian name (Sketch of Proposed Plan, Water Works, October, 1868). The earliest use, or origin of the name, was that of an Indian, Narragansett Sachem, who dwelt near the Hill now known by the name at the head of this note. A son of Saconocitts was witness in a case against another Indian for robbery (Prov. Early Rec. 15, p. 24). The time was 19th June, 1649. Here I note another error in these Early Records. It reads Uanheggen testified that he "went unto Paswonquitte with Saconocitts sonne and there he say all night". The word *say* is *lay* in the original manuscript. Paswonquitte was Occupasusatuxet—Spring Greene Farm, when Elizabeth and Sallie Francis so recently lived. Sixteen years later in 1665 the *locality*, Scoakequanocsett, appears on the Records in connection with Hackleton's Lime Kiln (Prov. Early Rec. 3, p. 66). In 1672 it again appears in the same connection, written Scoconoxit (Early Rec. 3, 229). Parsons give the spelling, Saccannosset, applied to a Hill. In 1677 W. Harris brought an action against John Tower for trespass, for his pretended purchase of our (Harris's) land at Pawtuxet, Toskaunk and Soconaset (Coll. Hist. Soc. 10, p. 207).



## TATAWAMSCUT.

(17)

Is the name by which the Indians knew the big rock just by the Falls of Pawtuxet. It doubtless came from the Indian word, Toyusk, which Williams says means "a bridge".

## TISMATUCK.

Was probably the name of an Indian village. Parsons gives these various meanings: "A small round swamp," "a Farm in Westerly," "another name for Wecapaug brook," "a boundary line between Westerly and Charlestown." There are the usual number of varieties in the spelling of the name.

## TOPAMISSPAUGE.

It was the name of a pond on the lands called *Mashanticut*, or *Antashantuc* (9), now known as Randall's pond (Prov. Early Rec. 4, 68).

## TABAMAPAUGE.

(9)

An Indian name of a pond, probably connected by means of "a long mirey brook unto *Ashunduck* pond (Prov. Early Rec. 8, 71, 72). See *Antashantuc*; also *Mashanticut*.

## TOSKIOUNKE.

(10-17)

It was the Indian name of some fine meadow lands lying near the village of Pontiac. These lands then so useful to the first planters were the objects of a continuous legal and illegal pursuit by the Arnolds, the Carpenters, and Harris men who were the incarnation of insatiate ~~land~~ greed. The lands were apparently on the north of the Pawtuxet river, and came within the Showomet purchase. The Warwick men claimed the right to mow the grass,

but the Pawtuxet partners, above named, opposed it (Book Notes 3, 241); also (R. I. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Oct., 1896).

## TOUSKOUNKANET.

Was the place where the north line of Showomet crossed the Pawtuxet river (R. I. Hist. Tract, 1st Ser., 17, 104). The name probably came from the Indian word, Toyusk, which Mr. Williams says means "a bridge". Large Rocks were doubtless in the Pawtuxet river at these places.

## TUNCOWODEN.

That hill in Providence known in these later times as Tockwotten. (Holme and Chandler Map, 1741.)

## TOWESET.

Is a point of land extending into Mount Hope Bay in Massachusetts, directly opposite the place where the Kickemuit river enters. It is given as Touiset, Towoset (Helme and Chandler's Map, 1741); also Towoset (Bailey's Hist. Plymouth, v. 2, p. 234). The word is the same as Coeset, or sometimes written in that form.

## VENTER.

See Asapumsick.

## WALLUM POND.

## (1)

This pond, or lake, lies in the extreme northwest corner of Rhode Island, extending northerly into Massachusetts. It was known to the earliest Englishmen there as Awamps' pond. Awumps was a Nipmuc Sachem whom these English found there. The name became in time Allums' pond, and at last Wallum. It is one of those corruptions which became so prolific about the close of the 17th and the opening of the 18th centuries.

## WAWALONAH.

(4)

Certain lands, belonging to Resolved Waterman, who died about 1719, were described in the inventory as being "at or near a place called Wawalonah, about a mile northeastward from Moswansicutt Pond" (Prov. Early Rec. 16, 126).

From this name probably came the name Wawaloam, the wife of Miantinomi. See an account of the distinguished Indian Queen under "Aspanansuck".

## WESTQUANOID.

(7)

It was an undefinable purchase of Indian lands. Mr. Arnold locates it on the south bank of the north branch of the Pawtuxet river (Hist. R. I. 2, 5). Mr. Trumbull's "Indian Names in Connecticut" describes it as being the northeast bound mark of the Quinebung country. It is placed on the map in Foster. The name appears in these forms, among a great variety: Wishquodiniack, Wishquatenniog, Westquodniake, Wesconnaug.

## A WAYUNKEAGE RIGHT.

The sale of a Wayunkeage Right is mentioned in a deed at pages 76, 66 and also in the will which the Town Council made for Nicholas Power after the said Power's death. A Wayunkeage Right was in effect an interest in the undivided lands owned by the "First Proprietors" which lay west of the seven mile line. This tract is clearly defined in the deed given by Stephen Northup to William Hawkins in 1662 at page 66, Early Records, vol. 1, "all the lands between the river of Pawtucket and the river of Pawtuxet, beginning at the end of 'seaven' miles upon a west line from the hill called 'ffoxes' hill, and so to goe up the streames of the said rivers unto the end of twenty miles from the aforesaid 'ffoxes' hill". Fox's hill was on Fox point, where the Tockwotten House and later the Reform School of our own times stood. The seven mile line ran alongside of what is now the Moswansicut Reservoir, and

the name Wayunkeage was the Indian name of the great hill in Smithfield which we now spell Wionkeage. The crest of this hill is one and a half miles east of the seven mile line.

## WAWEPOONSEAG.

(6-3)

It is the Indian name of the locality upon which William Blackstone came to live in 1635. The name now is Lonsdale. It is given in the Plymouth Colony Records as one of the boundaries of the "North Purchase" made in 1661 by Thomas Willet for the inhabitants of Rehoboth. The record reads: "From Rehoboth ranging upon Patucket river to a place called by the natives Wawepoonseag where one Blackstone now sojourneth". It was while living here that Mr. Blackstone married Mrs. Sarah Stevenson. They were married by Gov. John Endicott 4th July, 1659. Mrs. Blackstone died there in June, 1673, and two years later Mr. Blackstone died, in May, 1675. (Records of Rehoboth.) There are few names of early New England settlers concerning which more legendary nonsense has been written than that of William Blackstone. It was begun by Francis Baylies in 1830 (Mem. Plym. Col. 2, 194), and has been thence copied into all subsequent "histories" with no critical examination whatever, but with continuous exaggeration. This is illustrated by Goodwin's *Pilgrim Republic*, when it is told how Blackstone rode into Providence on a trained bull to preach to congregations of two or three persons, throwing golden apples to the children in the "audience". The story of the burning of his house by the Indians a few days after his death is fiction. No such record can be found on the Plymouth records, which are continuously cited in support of the story. The only support exists in Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., 2d Ser., 10, 172, but this is not authenticated and only refers to "moveables" personal property stolen, but not burned.

## WEYANITOKÉ.

(27)

This name is given in the Deed given by Tumtockowe, in 1659, to

the Atherton Partners of "point Judea called by us We-nan-na-toke". In this same Deed the name again appears as "Weyanitoke on point Juda neck". These spellings follow the original records now existing. This Deed was one of the tricks of the Atherton Partners to overthrow the titles obtained by the Pettaquamscut purchases. Tumtokow was an Indian of no consequence nor control. His Deed was never recognized. This point of land is now well known as Point Judith. The evolution of the name is as follows: In 1659 it was called by the Atherton Partners Juda neck; this was quickly changed to Point Judea. In 1662 it was Point Jude. In 1680 it became Point Judith, and so it has since remained. The name was given by some Boston churchmen who came here to deprive by a trick some other Boston buyers of these lands. These men took the name from the Bible, in which it appears as a "territorial division, or boundary, or land mark"; and these religious land grabbers drew upon the Bible for the name which they affixed to the southeastern boundary of their pretended purchase from Tumtockowe.

#### WANASQUATUCKQUT.

(9)

This name is one of the first four Indian names of localities around Providence which were co-eval with the planting of the town. The three others were Mooshausuck, Notaquonkanett, and Mashapauge. The earliest mention of these names is the original Deed of the purchase by Roger Williams from the Sachems, which was written by Williams in 1638. These names are there spelled as herein written. The name at the head of this article is there spoken of as being one of the "two fresh rivers" upon which Williams's lands from the Indians were situated. In 1666 Williams wrote, or some one else wrote, a Deed in which the word was spelled *Wanasquatuckett*, and applied to a river. It is not probable that the Indians gave this name to the river which we now know by the name; certainly for its entire length. Pawtucket was an Indian name of a locality, not of the entire stream; so, too, with Pawtuxet it was a locality, and not an entire stream; so, too, it

must have been with *Wanasquatuckqut* it must have been a locality.

It is most frequently applied to the river, but not invariably so applied. In 1649 it is designated as a "Plain" upon a river; so also in 1652, and 1660, 1661, 1662, and in sundry other years. It is also certain that the earliest settlers did not regard the name *Wanasquatuckqut* as applying to the entire length of the stream; later this is shown by a Deed of 1686 of land remote from the mouth of the stream. It describes lands on the "*Wanasquatucket* or *Wiunkeake* river," which means that where the river ran near *Wionkeague* Hill it bore the name of the Hill. Mr. Trumbull has defined the word as signifying "at the end of tide water" or "as far as tide water flows". This, of course, means not a stream in its entire length, but some point or locality upon a stream. In the case of the *Wanasquatuckqut* this point would be the great bend of the stream, at the spot where *Olneyville* now stands. But Mr. Trumbull has given another, and very different, meaning to the word. He gives *Wunnashowatuckqut* as being the name of a locality in Worcester County, Mass., and meaning "at the crotch of the river," being where the two branches of the Blackstone river join. Of course, both definitions cannot be correct. This meaning seems to have been a favorite one with Mr. Trumbull. Besides *Wunnashowatucket*, he gives the same meaning to *Pascoag*, *Chepachet*. These words all refer to localities in this same Nipmuck country; and if they mean that which Dr. Trumbull says they mean, they furnish a good illustration of the copious character of these Indian dialects.

In 1665 an agreement was made between the Pawtuxet "partners" and the Providence "proprietors" concerning a line between the two controverted sections. This language is used concerning the running of a line: "Thence upon a straight line unto a rock called *Hipses* rock, which rock is about three-quarters of a mile westward from the farmhouse of *Joseph Wise*, where *Henry Fowler* now liveth; which house standeth upon the hill called *Neotaconquonitt*; but if in the running of the said line the said rock shall fall nearer or further off from the midst (middle) way betweene the river called *Patuxett*, and the river called *Wanasquatuckett*, then the line shall be fixed in the midst (midway between) the two rivers

against said rock" (Early Rec. 3, 61). This cannot mean the entire length of either stream, but it must apply to some precise locality; this will be shown to be true by the Smith plat of 1677 (R. I. Hist. Tract Sec., Ser. 5, p. 100). This point, Olneyville, as the point of departure is clearly shown. There is a Deed of 1677 of land in that neighborhood, which we are attempting to describe, in which are the words, "the river called Wannassquatuckitt about so far up the river as the salt water floweth". The Indian name of the place which we now call Olneyville was Wanasquatucket. The extending of the name the entire length of the river was the work of the English settlers, just as was the confusion in spelling the name, for there are not less than thirty forms.

There seems to be confusion in the defining of the names of Indian localities. Mr. Trumbull gives (Indian Names, 91) the Indian name "Wunnashowatuckqut as applied to a place in Worcester County, Mass., at the crotch of the river, as the name denotes, probably at the forks of Blackstone's river". In the case of the same name, at Olneyville, R. I., he says the word means "at the end of tide water" or "as far as tide water goes" (Potter's Early Hist. Narr., sec. ed., 410). The name Pascoag, Mr. Trumbull defines as "land at the branch"; and Chepachet as "a place of division" on "the fork of Branch river" (Early Hist. Narr., 411). The question at once arises, do not the same conditions exist in connection with the mouths of the Pawtuxet and Pawtucket rivers as existed in the case of the Wanasquatucket at Olneyville? Wherever in Rhode Island a narrow passage or crossing place existed it was called Wapwayset. There are three such places in the State. Would not like conditions determine the names above cited?

#### USQUEBAUG—WOWOSKEPOG.

(26)

(1) Usquepaug, or (2) Usquebaug, or (3) Osquepaug, or (4) Wawaskepaug, or (5) Wowoskepaug, or (6) Wauwoskepog, or (7) Wawwoskepog. It is a word of peculiar history. The word has been written in all the forms above given. The first form above is the name at present of a small river which forms the west-

ern boundary of South Kingstown. It is also written in the second form. Dr. Trumbull did not record it in his "Indian Names in Connecticut," in which, however, he records many other Indian names of places in Rhode Island. But Dr. Trumbull has recorded the word in another essay in the forms 2 and 5 above given. He speaks of it as a word "with its flavor of Celtic." But concerning this later. The first occurrence of the word in the early English records is in the Indian Deed of Hall's, or Knight's purchase in the Narragansett country, in 1664 (Potter's Narragansett, p. 70). As Potter has given it, it is in the first form above. It also appears in Davell's deposition concerning the survey of these same lands given in 1711, but the survey was made in 1664. Davell spells the word in the form 7 above. Now, concerning the "Celtic flavor". Sir Walter Scott in *The Abbott*, vol. 1, p. 101, Boston edition, 1858, says: "The smoky garret of your father that smells of peat smoke and usquebaug like a Highlander's plaid." Scott again uses the word in *The Abbot*, v. 2, p. 219: "The Scottish returns being vested in grouse, white hares, pickled salmon, and *usquebaug*." It is a Scotch word and means "the water of life," to wit—whisky. Of course, from this history of the word, the origin is clear. It is a Scotch word given to the river because of a similarity in sound to Wawoskepog.

It has been suggested by some that the name Mount Hope came from the Icelandic word "Hop," meaning a bay, as applied to water, used by Thorfin Karlsefne A. D. 1008. Dr. Trumbull says "the suggestion is hardly entitled to serious discussion; no instance can be shown of the adoption by Indians of a local name from a foreign language." The word Usquebaug comes pretty near to such an adoption. But concerning things, Roger Williams gives these forms: English, Cowes, Indian, "Cowsnuck"; English, Hog, Indian, "Hogsuck"; English, Pig, Indian "Pigsuck"; English, Neat Cattle, Indian, "Neatasuog"; English Goats, Indian, "Goatesuck". Notwithstanding what Dr. Trumbull said, the writer believes that the idea of the derivation of our Mount Hope from the Icelandic is worthy of serious discussion. So it is, too, with the word "Rumstick," a "point" opposite Warren, in Narragansett Bay. Very strong arguments can be made for each of these words; arguments



along lines which have never yet been even touched—but far too elaborate for this short note.

WAUBOSETT PLAINE.

(12)

There is scarcely any other Indian word which has come down to our days which has given rise to so much speculation as the word given above as "Waubosset" and which we now apply to a highway, but spelled "Weybosset"; a very short, but very crooked, street running from its junction with "Westminster" at "Turks' Head" to Chestnut street. The meaning of the word as given by Trumbull was given in Book Notes, v. 8, p. 236, as "at the narrow passage, or crossing place, or fording place." Mr. Dorr, R. I. Historical Tract 15, p. 130, mentions a hill called "Waybossett" in which the Town Council gave liberty to certain men to dig clay "for to make bricks". This was in January, 1723. Mr. Dorr is of the opinion that this hill was the cause of the curve in Weybosset (now Broad) street. The earliest mention of a bridge at Weybosset, that is, by that name, appears in a vote of the Town Meeting in January, 1664. This was a conference as to "mending the bridge", which must of course have been built before that time, possibly in 1662; but the earliest mention of a bridge for this place appears in a letter from Roger Williams to Winthrop in 1654 (consult Dorr, in R. I. Hist. Tract 15, p. 67, 68). In 1725 a highway was ordered constructed "from Weybosset bridge to the Narragansett country so far as Warwick line". Now comes some fresh knowledge about these ancient things, which we derive from the *Early Records*, v. 1, p. 95. William Field, of Providence, sold in 1661 a tract of land to ohn Field, of the same town. This land is desbriced as "lying upon that plaine called by the name of Wau-bosset plaine and running all along the southeastwardly side of that pond called Long pond (and still so called) from an oake tree at one end of the pond unto another oake tree at the other end of said pond". These are the lands on which ex-Judge W. S. Burges now lives, and near by him William D. Davis and other men. This shows the extent of territory in those early days to which the name Waybosset applied. This land was first laid out by the Town of

Providence to Adam Goodwin, who sold it, or a part of it, to James Bradish, who sold it to Richard Ozbone, who sold it to Edward Inman, who sold a portion to Zachary Rhodes. How William Field acquired his portion is not apparent from these Records. One other item of interest occurs in the deed, and this is it: "At this present tyme (1661), the pathway to Mashapaug goeth thorowit." In 1725 this pathway became "the highway to the Narragansett Country"; in 1803 it was the Greenwich road"; in 1856 it became Greenwich street, but the name was altogether too plebeian to last, in fact, it is already styled "*the*" *Boolevar*. Thus the "Elmwood" of to-day was "Weybosset Plains" two centuries ago.

## WEQUETEQUOCK.

(28)

Is now a park near Westerly, R. I. It is located, as being a cove, at the head of tidewater, half way between Stonington, Conn., and the Pawcatuck river. It was written by Roger Williams *Wequatuck*. (Trumbull's Indian names in Connecticut, 84.)

## WECHENAMA.

(17)

This was a tract of land, near Natchek (R. I. Col. Rec. 5, pp. 52-59). It is given by Parsons (Indian names in Rhode Island) in this form, Wequehackomuck, and is located by Parsons on a specific farm. It was a tract covering many farms as they existed when Parsons wrote in 1861.

## WESTOTUCKET.

(26)

This name was given to a river which bounded the Stanton-Gardner purchase in 1662. It has been applied to three different streams, and also to the Tract.

## WOONSOCKET.

See "Niswosaket." Also printed in the Early Records Miskoasakitt, Miskoasakit, Misoaskit, Mashovsakit. (Prov. Early Rec. 5, pp. 56, 78, 284.)

## WEQUAPANOCK.

(29)

Was an Indian village, or other Indian locality, in what is now Charlestown, R. I. It has also been written Wawattaquatuck.

## WECAPAUG.

(28)

An Indian name of the brook which formed the Eastern bound of the land known as Misquamicoke for the Indian Sachem Soso in 1660, which now forms the town of Westerly. In 1636 this brook was the bound between the lands of the Pequots and the Niantics. It runs into Quanacontaug pond. It has in the various early records many names. Here are some of them: Weecapaug, Wecapoag, Musqutah, Passpatanage, Tismatuc, Pachatanage, Passpataug, Waxcadowa.

## WAYUNCKEKE.

(5)

It is the name of a hill around which, in 1660, Roger Williams, in a letter to the inhabitants, told them there were lands which would afford "a new and comfortable plantation". (Narr. Club 6, 315.) Parsons gives these extraordinary variations "Wiorickheague", "Winkheigues", and cites Potter's Hist. Narr. 163; but Potter gives the form at the head of this note. Parsons cites also (R. I. Col. Rec. 4, 271,) but that does not sustain him, being written slightly different, thus, "Wiorikheague". It was so written in 1720, by incompetent recorders, or by those who, in 1859, compiled the Colonial Records. No Indian ever used such a barbarous corruption.

## WAPWAYSET.

(12) (34) (20)

This name was given to three localities, all having the same natural characteristics. Trumbull defines it as "at the narrow passage" or "the crossing place", where the river was "forded at low water". All these places were narrow, but not fordable. The name Weybosset street in Providence came from this word.

See the name "Waubossett Plaine".

## WANAMETONOMY.

(32)

This was the name of a Sachem who gave his consent to the transfer of Acquidnec to Coddington and his friend, by Deed of Canonicus and Miantinomi (Col. Rec. 1, 47). The name was given to a hill which is still known as Tonomy Hill.

## WATCHEMOQUOT.

(15)

This is derived probably from the Indian Word Machemoquut, defined by Roger Williams in his "Indian Key" (Narr. Club 1, 71). It was the village of Saunknosecit, a Sachem otherwise called Tom of Wauchimoquut. He was selected by Ousamequin; otherwise called Massasoit, to fix the bounds of Loqusquscit (6) (R. I. Col. Rec. 1, 32). Another of the names borne by this Sachem was Mawgin; he used it in his surrender of all claim to land west of Providence. As Tom of Wachamoquut he witnessed the Deed of Socnonoco to William Arnold, which the latter obtained as a leader against the title under the original Deed given to Williams (Prov. Early Rec. 15, 75). The surrender of his claims was given in 1667 (Early Rec. 5, 286). At this time an effort was made to have the removal of the scattering Indians from the immediate localities around Providence, and Tom of Wachamoquut was used to assist in their removal.

## WAMPANOAGS—LANDS.

The name Wampanoag is defined by Dr. Trumbull as meaning *Eastlanders*, and it was held by the Plymouth government to these tribes in what is now called Bristol County, Rhode Island, and at Tiverton, and Little Compton, and in fact the entire southern part of Plymouth Colony. On one map, we have taken the first letter of the name, W, across the Pawtucket river, into (6) the town of Lincoln; this was done because of the land transaction which Roger Williams, and three companions, made with Ousamequin in 1646, but which failed (R. I. Col. Rec. 1, 31, 33). Under the name Loquassuck herein other details may be found.

In a preceding note, Setamachut (page 265), much attention is given to the name Hackleton's Lime Killne. The name first used in this form became Hackston's three years later, in 1665. The name Hackleton is composed of "Hackle", an English provincial word, in use in Lincolnshire, meaning "to dig up" (Wright), or, "to cut, or hack, into small pieces" (Richardson), and "tun", an Anglo-Saxon word, meaning "town". This word "tun" was attached to names, and given to towns. The transformations were "tuyn", town, ton. We have many such illustration in Rhode Island. Westerly was claimed by the Massachusetts, and named *Southertown*; a part of it became subsequently *Stonington*. Fields of great boulders suggested the name. We also have *Compton*, *Tiverton*, *Barrington*, *Johnston*, *Charlestown*, *Jamestown*, *Kingstown*, *Kingston*, *Cranston*, first written *Cranstoun*, and *Hopkinton*. The latter name doubtless was given to the town in honor of Stephen Hopkins, who was Governor of the Colony at the time of its incorporation, 1757.

# QUETENIS

NOW DUTCH ISLAND, AND  
THE TWO FORTIFIED TRADING POSTS  
BUILT BY THE DUTCH  
ON THE LANDS NOW KNOWN AS  
CHARLESTOWN,  
R. I.



#### QUATENUS, NOW DUTCH ISLAND.

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Neither Ninigret nor any other Niantic ever built the Fort on the shore of Charlestown, Rhode Island, which is now called "Ninigret's Fort". It was built by the West India Company, a Dutch Trading Company, and used by them when trading with the Indians. This early connection of Dutch Traders with these Rhode Island lands is worth fresh consideration. Certain Dutch merchants, about the year 1614, sent a fleet of five merchant ships, on an exploring expedition to America. The Dutch government had made a proposition to give such companies, exclusive rights of trade, for four voyages. It was to secure these privileges that the expedition was sent out, and New Netherland, now called the city of New York, was discovered. On the 11th October, 1614, the States General, otherwise the Dutch Government, held a meeting at the Hague, to hear a report of the discovery "of New Netherland, situate in America". Thereupon the Government decreed that this trading company should have exclusive privileges from the 1st of January next ensuing (1615), for three years. Thus the voyage of discovery, was counted as being the *first* of the four voyages. One of the five merchant vessels of which I have spoken, was the *Tiger*, commanded by Adrian Block, and to him has been given the credit of discovering the island which lies off the coast of Rhode Island, which now bears his name. The island had been discovered nearly a century before Block saw it, by Verrazano, in 1524. If Block discovered, or rediscovered, this island, it was while sailing west, towards New Netherland; or sailing east towards Amsterdam; and either way, he was sailing south of Long Island, and also of Long Island Sound; for the Dutch at that time knew nothing of the Sound, or the Island.

On the 18th August, 1616, the States General were again assembled at the Hague, to hear another report. It was by Skipper Henrickszn, then in the service of the West India Company. It was a report of the "Second" voyage, and tells of the manner in which "the skipper hath found and discovered a certain country; a Bay; and three rivers; lying between the 38th and 40th degrees of Latitude" (Docs. Col. Hist. N. Y. V. I, p. 12).



This skipper had built a small yacht of about eight (8) lasts (tons) burthen, and with this light draft boat he had made the discoveries. It was through Long Island Sound that he sailed. The country was what is now Connecticut. The mention of the discovery of a country, is confirmation of the opinion that Block and his companions went south of Long Island, and supposed it to be a portion of the main land. The Bay was what is now Narragansett. The skipper then called it Sloups Bay, and the three rivers were the Connecticut, the Thames and the Pawcatuck, as we now call them.

The Dutch called the Pawcatuck—Pequatoos river, and described it as "lying right opposite Fisher's Island" (Docs. Col. Hist. N. Y. 1, 545). The small yacht was named the *Ourust*, meaning "Restless". (Same Vol. p. 12.)

At the time of the presentation of this report a "Figurative Map" was laid before the meeting. For two and a quarter centuries this map was lost among the archives at the Hague. It was discovered in 1841; copied, and reproduced by lithography, and now appears among the Holland Documents (Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. 1, p. 13). I have reproduced that portion of this Dutch Chart of 1616, the earliest chart, or map, covering the lands of Rhode Island and Narragansett Bay ever made.

Narragansett Bay was first called by the Dutch, Sloups Bay; but this name was confined to the west passage. The middle passage was called Nassau Bay; but this name was soon transferred to the east passage, and the middle passage became Anchor Bay. In 1641, Miantinomi was described, in a Dutch Journal, as the principal Sachem of Sloops Bay (Docs. Col. Hist. N. Y. 1, 183).

Mr. Brodhead says, "The Dutch shallops (sloops) constantly visited the shores of Long Island Sound, and trafficked with the native Indian tribes for peltry, as far east as Narragansett and Buzzards bays." This was in 1622. (Brodhead's Hist. N. Y. V. 1, p. 145.) The West India Company in 1649 gave to the Dutch government an account of their properties, and especially lands in New England. Among the lands was "the island Quetenis, lying in Sloop bay, which was purchased, paid for, and taken possession of, in the year 1637 on the Company's account." (Docs. Col.

A hand-drawn map of the Atlantic Ocean and surrounding continents, showing a grid of latitude and longitude lines. The map includes labels for 'AMERICA' (North and South America), 'AFRICA', 'EUROPE', 'ASIA', 'AUSTRALIA', 'ANTARCTICA'. It also features handwritten notes in German, such as 'Waldyfs', 'Henrick', 'Hoch von der Nordsee', 'Hoch von der Südsee', 'Hoch von der Ostsee', 'Hoch von der Westsee', 'Hoch von der Nordatlantischen', 'Hoch von der Südatlantischen', 'Hoch von der Ostatlantischen', 'Hoch von der Westatlantischen'.

THE "FIGURATIVE MAP" OF  
NARRAGANSETT BAY AND RHODE ISLAND, 1616.

to trade with the natives of this Bay and River of Narragansett and Sowams, which is, as it were, at our doors." (Brodhead Hist. N. Y. I, 174.) Sowams was then a place where Dutch shallops could land their cargoes; hence it could not have been Barrington as some pretend; but must have been Warren, R. I. In 1642, the Dutch

claimed all the extent of country from Narragansett Bay to Hudson's river (Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. 1, 128). In 1656, the West India Company complained to the Dutch government of the English encroachments as "absorbing Rhode Island (Aquidneck), Blocx Island, Martin's Vineyard, Sloops Bay, howbeit possession had been taken of it in the year 1636 for the Company, and of Haerlem on the island Quetenis, situate in the front of said Bay; and Pequatoos (the Pawcatuck) river which they (the English) pretend to have conquered by force of arms from the natives, inasmuch as they have wholly subjugated that nation." The date of this Document is January 2, 1656 (Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. 1, 565). It is thus clear that the Dutch were trading along the coast, and in Narragansett Bay, twenty years before the planting of Providence, or of the English occupation of the island of Rhode Island. The island Quetenis, now known as Dutch Island, is laid down, as here given, on Nicholaus Fischer's Map of New England, about 1656. (Sidney S. Rider Hist. Coll., now at Brown University.)

Quetenis is a corrupt form of the ancient latin word Quatenus; one of the meanings of which was, "as far as". (Leverett's Lat. Lex.) This meaning is founded on this citation from Columella: "Præciditur superior pars (arboris) quæ apibus vacat deinde inferior quatenus videtur inhabitari." This was written during the first half of the first century, and first printed in 1472. The specific treatise was, "Liber arboribus". Cicero, who was cotemporary with Columella, uses "quatenus" in the same sense as used by the latter. The Indian name for this island is not now known. It was used by the Dutch as a trading post, about twenty years, 1636-1656, and it was of material use to the first planters here.

In 1642, the Dutch saved the early settlements from destruction. The English colonies, Plymouth, Connecticut and Massachusetts, refused the English planters of Providence and Newport the necessary supplies which they required, and the Rhode Island settlers were forced to apply to these Dutch Traders for supplies.

It was bought in 1636, or 1637, both years are given in the Documents, and described as one of the lands "whereof they took possession by Forts and Hamlets, long before any Christian nation had settled on them". (Docs. Col. Hist. N. Y.

This is a historical map of the North American continent, likely from a 17th-century European publication. The map shows the eastern and central parts of the continent, with the Atlantic Ocean (Zee) to the east and the Gulf of Mexico (Zee) to the south. Major rivers like the Mississippi and the Ohio are depicted. Various Native American tribes are labeled, including the Algonquians (Algonqui) in the northeast, the Iroquois (Iroquois) in the central region, and the Seminole (Seminole) in the south. The map also shows the Florida peninsula and the Gulf of Florida (Gulff van Florida). The title 'NORTH AMERICA' is visible at the top.

FISCHER'S DUTCH CHART OF  
NARRAGANSETT BAY AND RHODE ISLAND,  
ABOUT 1656.

“south shore”. The other fortified post was on Chemunganock Hill, northwest about two miles from the Fort, on the sea side. The earthwork on Chemunganock was for defence against the Pequots. Both were earthworks, or rifle pits, as such defences are now called. The Indians never constructed such Forts, nor ever used them as defences.

I have stated that the earliest known name for Narragansett Bay was Sloup's Bay, in 1616; and further that the name Narragansett was occasionally in use by the Dutch in 1622; and still further, it was used by the Plymouth government in 1627; but it was many years before it came into exclusive use.

"Sloops Bay" appears in different positions on the early Dutch Charts. A sloop is a *small* vessel, drawing little depth of water, and



COLOM'S DUTCH CHART OF  
NARRAGANSETT BAY AND RHODE ISLAND,  
ABOUT 1648.

hence could use a little Bay for shelter. On one of these charts the name is given to the west passage of Narragansett. On another, Fischer's Chart, about 1656, it is given to a little bay, west from the Narragansett. On still another this west passage is called Chaloup Bay, doubtless from the German word *Schaluppe*, meaning Sloop. Sloops Bay may have been moved still further west; as far possibly as the inlet *Pawwaget* (Indian Map 29) in which is "Fort Neck" and on which is the Fort now called Ninegrets.

Colom's Dutch Chart is in the Sidney S. Rider Collection at Brown University.

The name Texel appears on some of these Dutch Charts on the extreme western end of one of the Elizabeth islands at the point where vessels from the New Netherlands entered Buzzard's Bay, and Buzzard's Bay is named Zuyder Zee.



A DUTCH CHART OF  
NARRAGANSETT BAY AND RHODE ISLAND,  
ABOUT 1640.

The name Texel came from a small Island lying on the coast of Holland, near which every ship sailing from Amsterdam for the New Netherlands was obliged to pass. Many pilots lived there, to take ships from the North Sea into the Zuyder Zee. (Docs. Col. Hist. N. Y. I, 625.)

The Fort now called "Ninigrets" was one of the two Dutch Trading Forts mentioned by Mr. Arnold (Hist. R. I. I, 155). The idea of calling this Dutch Trading Fort "Ninigrets", was first suggested by the Rev. Frederic Denison

(Westerly and its Witnesses, 22). This led to a State Dedication, August 30, 1883. In order to show the ridiculous nonsense of this dedication, I will cite Denison against Denison. He says, "Against Ninigret was sent (by Massachusetts) a force of 270 foot, and 40 horse; Ninigret secured (secreted) himself and his men (not in this Fort, but) in a swamp after the Indian custom. Ninigret had a Fort, but it was unsuited to meet the assault of English forces" (Denison's Westerly, p. 22). Again, the Long Island Indians made war on Ninigret. "The Savage Fleets of log canoes, were silently speeding their way across the foot of the Sound, \* \* the moon was high and clear in the southwest, and its beams were hence so reflected by the glassy waters, that the Niantic braves discovered the approaching Montauk fleet, while themselves remained unseen; instantly Ninigret ordered his own force to silently and speedily fall back to their own shore, near Watch Hill, when hauling their canoes upon the beach into concealed positions they posted themselves in ambush over the sedgy and bushy banks to await the enemy. Scarce a remnant of the Montauk host escaped" (Denison's Westerly, 23). Thus Ninigret must have constructed a fort, not for defence, and not to be used in war. These things were printed in 1878. In 1883 "Ninigret's Fort" was dedicated, and Mr. Denison said: "The Foes of the Niantics *dreaded this stronghold* and were never able to capture it; but for this fortification and the *heroism displayed in it*, the western boundary of Rhode Island would never have extended to the Pawcatuck. Herein we owe a debt to the patriotism and bravery of the Niantics" who betook themselves to the swamps *as was their custom whenever attacked*. On page 43, of his *Westerly and its Witnesses*, Mr. Denison speaks of the poetic license taken with tradition, these must be illustrations of such license. In his address, delivered at the Dedication, of the name Ninigret to this Dutch Fort, Mr. Denison says, "It was this Ninigret who gave hospitable entertainment *in this Fort* to the heroic Major John Mason and his bold band in May, 1637" (Prov. Journal, Sept. 1, 1883). But the heroic John tells a different story. "They carried very proudly towards us, not permitting any of us to come into their Fort; \* \* we therefore caused a strong Guard to be set about their Fort, giving charge that no Indian should be supposed to pass in or out. We

also informed the Indians that none of them should stir out of the Fort upon peril of their lives; so as they would not suffer any of us to come into their Fort, so we would not suffer any of them to go out of the Fort" (Mason's Pequot War, Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. Sec. Ser. V. 8, p. 136). Major Mason makes no mention of Ninigret in this connection in his narrative. The Sachem could not have been twenty-five years of age at the time; and he was not a Sachem at the time the earthworks were thrown up. Again this nonsense: "How must this old stronghold have then appeared manned by plumed and painted warriors, armed with their rude, barbaric weapons." Mr. Denison would have us believe that Ninigret had thrown up a regular agled Fort, with salient angles to be defended with bows and arrows. Such "history" is positively ridiculous.

Mr. Denison's statement of the influence of this Fort upon the established boundary of Rhode Island is mere "poetic license". It had not the slightest connection, or influence, with that act.







